KRISHNARAJA WODEYAR III AND HIS RELATIONS
WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
(1794 - 1868 A.D.)

A THESIS

Submitted for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ARTS
(HISTORY)

of the

UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY

5265

BY

Shri B.R.K.MURTHY

UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY
28 OCT 1974
LIBRARY.

Under the Guidance of

DR. C.M.KULKARNI
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY
1974

5265

KRISHNARAJA WODEYAR III AND HIS RELATIONS
WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
(1794 - 1868 A.D.)

A THESIS

Submitted for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ARTS

(HISTORY)

of the

UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY

5265

BY

Shri B.R.K.MURTHY

UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY
28 OCT 1974
LIBRARY.

Under the Guidance of

DR. C.M.KULKARNI

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY
1974

5265

Statement to be submitted under Ordinances 770 and 771 relating to the Ph.D. Degree of the University of Bombay.

The thesis entitled "Krishna Raja Wodeyar III and His Relations with the British Government" deals with the history of Mysore in the 19th century. It has attracted considerable attention from well known historians - Indian and foreign alike. It can well be said that the present study is an original contribution of the author, that it attempts a critical study of the personality of Krishna Raja Wodeyar III. Chapters IV and VI form the central portion of the thesis as they are entirely based on the original sources, most of which are unpublished. The varied phases of Krishna Raja Wodeyar's rule have been brought out in this study for the first time. The work in general, therefore, tends to the general advancement of knowledge so far as it throws new light on certain problems of Krishna Raja Wodeyar III and his relations with the British Government.

The author believes that the study attempted here is bound to be of considerable interest to all the students of history and polity. The sources of information include various original manuscripts, letters, treatises etc. some of which have been included in the bibliography at the end of the thesis.

The author states that he has not been awarded a Degree or Diploma or any other academic award of this or by any other University or body for the thesis nor the said thesis incorporate any work on any thesis covering a wider field ever submitted by him for a Degree or Diploma or any other academic award. The thesis is a personal contribution of the author and not a joint work done with any other person.

B.R.K.Murthy

CMKulkarni 23.4.74
Guiding Teacher

PREFACE

The period of Krishna Raja Wodeyar III (1794-1868) is one of the interesting periods in the history of Mysore. It is one of the controversial periods too. Even so, no serious attempt has been made so far to give a comprehensive and critical account of the various aspects of Krishna Raja Wodeyar's rule and of his relation with the British Government. It is in this direction that I have made an attempt to make some original contribution.

The present study of "KRISHNA RAJA WODEYAR III AND HIS RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT" is an original contribution that it attempts a critical study of the personality of the Wodeyar. After the fall of Tipu in 1799, the ancient family of Wodeyars was restored in the person of Krishna Raja Wodeyar III. He was a child of five years and during his minority the Regent and Dewan was Purnaiah (1800-1811). In the year 1811, the Raja assumed power and ruled upto 1831. The maladministration of the Raja due to his inexperience and inability coupled with corrupt officials led to his deposition from power in 1831. The administration of the state was assumed by the British and the state was administered by the British Commissioners. From 1831 to 1868, the Raja protested against his loss of power and humiliating position. He fought constitutionally to regain the power. The Raja's heroic struggle for the rendition of his state will ever be reckoned as a memorable achievement of his life. But for the persistent and continuous efforts of Krishna Raja Wodeyar III, the history of the native state of Mysore would have come to an inglorious end.

Krishna Raja Wodeyar III was a typical Indian ruler and formed a remarkable link between mediaeval and modern Mysore. He was brought up in the best traditions of ancient Indian Kingship and his life was marked by devotion to God, patronage of culture and patriotic service to his kingdom and people.

This thesis is the result of the research work done by me as a research student in the Department of History, University of Bombay under the guidance of Dr.C.M. Kulkarni, Reader in History, University of Bombay. I owe a deep debt of gratitude for his able guidance, valuable suggestions and encouragement. I herewith extend my sincere gratitude to the authorities of the University of Bombay for having permitted me to register as a research student while I am borne on the teaching staff of its constituent college, Dhempe College of Arts and Science, Panjim, Goa.

I am extremely thankful to the Principal of Dhempe College and Prof. D.B.Wagh, Director, Centre of Postgraduate

Institution and Research for all the help and encouragement given to me to carry out this work.

The fellowship offered to me by the University of Mysore during 1961-63 has enabled me to collect the source material. I, therefore, extend my sincere gratitude to the University of Mysore. I also owe a deep debt of gratitude to the late D.S.Achyuta Rao, Reader in History for the encouragement, guidance and valuable suggestions.

My sincere thanks are due to Shri M.A.Balraj,I.A.S., who was the Secretary to the Governor of Mysore and Shri M.S. Narayana Swamy, Under Secretary to the Governor of Mysore for having permitted me to make use of the Palace Library. I also deeply extend my gratitude to the Librarians of National Library, Calcutta; Lord Connemara Library, Madras; Madras Oriental Library, Madras; University Library, Mysore; Maharaja's College Library, Mysore; Saraswati Pustaka Bhandara, Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Mysore; the Director, Mysore Oriental Research Institute, Mysore; the Curator, Madras Record Office, Madras; the Superintendent, Mysore Vidhana Soudha Secretariat Record Office, (Historical Section), Bangalore; the Curator, Mythic Society, Bangalore and the Secretary, Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs - for affording me all facilities to consult books, manuscripts, journals, bulletins and records in their possession. Finally, my sincere thanks to all those who encouraged me to carry out this work.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.R.F. : Annals of Royal Family

E.C. : Epigraphia Carnatica

M.A.R. : Mysore Archaeological Reports

MSS : Manuscripts

M.S.P. : Mysore State Papers

Mad. Pol. Cons. : Madras Political Consultations

Mad. Sec. Proc. : Madras Secret Proceedings

Mad.Coun.Corres.: Madras Country Correspondence

Q.J.M.S. : Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

S.R.M.C.O. : Selections from the Records of Mysore Commissioner's Offices

S.P.B.B. : Selections from the Parliamentary Blue Books

I.H.R.C. : Indian Historical Records Commission

One Pagoda = One Fanum

One Kanteroi-Pagoda[1] = Ten gold Fanum equivalent to Rupees Three.

One Bahaduri Pagoda[2] = 1¼ of Kanteroi-Pagoda.

---

[1] Coin named after Kanthirava Narasa Raj Wodeyar.

[2] Also called as Haidari and Sultani Pagoda.

CONTENTS

Preface ... i

Abbreviations ... iv

Chapter I: INTRODUCTION - HISTORICAL RETROSPECT ... 1

Chapter II: RESTORATION AND SETTLEMENT 11

Chapter III: RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COMPANY AND THE RAJA OF MYSORE 35

Chapter IV: KRISHNA RAJA WODEYAR'S PERSONAL RULE AND FINANCIAL POSITION OF MYSORE 1811-1831 49

Chapter V: MYSORE UNDER THE COMMISSIONERS - SIR MARK CUBBON AND LORD BOWRING ... 85

Chapter VI: EFFORTS OF KRISHNA RAJA WODEYAR III TO REGAIN POWER 126

Chapter VII: KRISHNA RAJA WODEYAR III - AN ESTIMATE OF HIS REIGN - HIS PATRONAGE TO ART AND LITERATURE 155

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY ... 172

1. INTRODUCTION - HISTORICAL RETROSPECT

The beginnings of the kingdom of Mysore are to be traced to the close of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century. The word "MYSORE" has been referred to in inscriptions as Erumai Nadu, Kuntaladesha and Mahishamandala. Since the early years of the Christian era, the territory was ruled by the Chalukyas, Cholas, Hoysalas and Vijayanagar kings. After the fall of Vijayanagar in 1565, its vassals known as Wodeyars ruled over the territory of Mysore for over three centuries.[1] The Wodeyars are to be regarded as worthy successors of Vijayanagar rulers in maintaining political and cultural traditions of the land. They were of Yadava descent and Lunar race.

Before it took the shape of a kingdom, Mysore was a petty principality under enterprising chieftains belonging to different dynasties at different times. Raja Wodeyar belonging to the Wodeyar dynasty is the most notable of these chieftains. He exercised authority in the early years of the 17th century over a number of villages around Mysore. From the historical point of view he can be considered as the first ruler of Mysore. Among his

---

1. The term Wodeyar or Vodeyar is the plural and respectful term of Kannada 'oddyar' meaning master or Lord. It also signifies the designation of Jangama or priest of Lingayat or Veerashaiva community in Mysore state.

successors, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar was the foremost ruler who ruled from 1672-1704. He maintained the individuality and integrity of Mysore inspire of repeated incursions made into his kingdom by the Marathas under Shivaji. The Marathas became an imperial power after the death of Aurangzeb and developed territorial ambitions. The rule of Chikkadevaraja-wodeyar also synchronised with the period of the influence of European powers who were gradually giving up trade and commerce for political power. It was under these circumstances that the newly established kingdom of Mysore had to struggle for survival. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, however, was equal to the task. He protected the kingdom from the Marathas. But his immediate successors, Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar II (1704-1713) and Doddakrishnaraja (1713-1731) were unfortunately very weak. Two ministers of the latter, Devarajaiyya, the Dalvoy and his cousin Nanjarajaiyya, the Sarvadhikari (Finance Minister) and pratinidhi (privy councillor) seized the opportunity and arrogated to themselves greater powers than their master. They were Dalvoyas or generals and hailed from Kalale near Nanjangud. They had usurped power by keeping their ruler Chamaraja VII (1731-1734), successor to Doddakrishnaraja, a political prisoner.[2] The Dalvoys embezzled the public money and filled the key posts in the Government with their kinsmen and favourites. As a result there was administrative inefficiency. By the close of the year 1732, Chamaraja realised his weak position and made an attempt to check the autocracy of the Dalvoyas. Unfortunately his queen Devajamma supported the Dalvoys. The Dalvoys in alliance with the king's generals deposed Chamraja VII. He remained in exile till the end of his life.

---

[2] Annals of Royal Family, Part I, p. 162. (Hereafter called A.R.F.). See also E.C., Vol.III Inscription No.64 Srirangapatna.

The deposition of Chamaraja VII strengthened the political influence of the Kalale family. During their usurpation, the Marathas under two Peshwas, namely, Baji Rao (1720-1740) and Balaji Baji Rao (1740-1761) threatened the independence of the kingdom of Mysore. But the Dalvoys bravely protected the kingdom against the Marathas. The rise of the Dalvoys, however, demonstrated the weakness of the rulers of Mysore after the death of Chikkadevaraja and sowed the seed for the ministerial irresponsibility, court politics, corruption, jealousy and palace intrigues. Lack of co-operation and distrust among the Dalvoys paved the way for the rise of an adventurer like Haidar Ali. An ordinary soldier in the Mysore army, he soon seized the kingdom of Mysore.

Haidar came into prominence as a result of the existing political situation. His admirable courage and energy, his indomitable will power contributed towards the establishment of supremacy.

The ancestors of Haidar migrated from Arabia and served the Sultans of Bajapur.[3] He was born at Budikota near Kolar in 1721. He possessed the privilege of neither birth nor wealth. Beginning his career as a soldier under the service of Dalvoy Nanjarajaiah, Haidar displayed his soldierly qualities during the seize of Devanhally and in the campaign of Trichinopoly in 1749 and 1751 respectively.[4] In 1755, Nanjarajaiah appointed him as the Foujdar of Dindagul to subdue the poligars. The repeated attacks of the Marathas and of the Nizam of Hyderabad had weakened the economy of the Government of Mysore. Therefore Nanjarajaiah gave full powers to Haidar to ward off the aggressive Marathas. Haidar successfully handled the situation. It was at this time that Haidar not only drove out the Marathas but became so prominent that he was able to force the Dalvoys to retirement from power completely. Thus he virtually became the master of the kingdom of Mysore. When he came to power, Mysore was facing critical situation. Though the Mughals were rendered weak, the Marathas were growing increasingly active, After the disasterous battle of Panipat in 1761, the latter had directed their attention to the south. Under the leadership of Peshwa Madhava Rao, they repeatedly made

---

3. Haidar Nama - A manuscript in Kannada - Mysore Archaeological Report, 1930, p. 80 (Hereafter called as M.A.R.).

4. Eloy Joze Correapeixto - Memoirs of Haidar Ali, M.A.R., 1937, p.86. (Peizto was the captain of the Infantry in the Portuguese state of Goa. He served Haidar from 1758-1770).

incursions into the kingdom of Mysore. Haidar was quite aware of the fact that the state economy would not bear the burden of a war with the Marathas. Therefore he tactfully avoided a war with them by paying a heavy ransom. Though this relief was intermittent it enabled him to cherish the desire of territorial expansion of Mysore. But here he had to come in conflict with the English. His expansionist ambition was checked by the Nawab of Arcot who was an ally of the English. The policy of the English towards the native states was that of bringing them under their control in order to use them as a bulwark against their rivals, the French. The English took advantage of the weakness of the local powers and strengthened their position. This was disliked by Haidar who considered all European powers on the Indian soil as trading companies. He was determined to keep them in their position. Therefore while English helped the Nawab of Carnatic, Haidar secured the services of the French against the former. The English dreaded Haidar for this. His ambitious policy constituted a great obstacle to their prospects in this region. As an ally of the Nawab of Carnatic, they were not in favour of having Mysore as a strong neighbour, rich in resources and invincible under Haidar. Haidar in this position was obsviously a great threat for the security of Carnatic. His possession of a long sea coast, navy, aggression on neighbouring kingdoms, the discipline, training of his troops under French officers and the presence of the

French army in Mysore had raised fear in the minds of the English.[5] Haidar's policy towards the Europeans was governed by three important considerations. In the first place it was necessary to keep a check upon them; secondly it was advantageous to obtain military supplies from them; and finally to secure the aid of any one of them in danger. For instance, when the Marathas invaded Mysore, he sought the help of the English in accordance with the peace treaty of 1769. They, however, did not come to the help of Haidar. Therefore he declared war on them in 1780. But his sudden death in 1782 prevented him from fulfilling his ambitious schemes.

Beyond doubt, Haidar was a great soldier, administrator, and statesman. He saw that Mysore was threatened by a crisis created by internal lawlessness and the repeated invasions of the Marathas. But before his death he saw to it that the kingdom of Mysore was well protected and her independence and integrity consolidated. Certainly Haidar raised Mysore to the status of one of a formidable power in India. His relations with the Europeans powers in India were guided by his patriotic interest. He was ready to favour anyone who would help him in times of difficulties. His experience with the English convinced Haidar that they were hypocrites. Hence his enemity with them.[6] Though a muslim, he was absolutely free from bigotry. Small wonder that on account of this he won the love and admiration of the people of Mysore. Inspite of the fact that virtually he was the king, he contended by being known as mere Karya Karta i.e. administrator of the kingdom of Mysore.

---

[5] Dr. B.Sheik Ali - Haidar Ali and his relations with the British Government, p. 327.

[6] Ibid., p. 325.

His son and heir, Tipu Sultan, however, deviated from the wise and noble policies of this father. On the death in 1796 of the titular Raja of Mysore, Khasa Chamaraja Wodeyar, Tipu assumed sovereign powers over Mysore. He styled himself the ruler of Mysore. In continuation of his father, he adopted a hostile attitude towards the English. Whereas Haidar desired to make use of them for his own purposes, Tipu aimed at destroying the English so that he would be able to enhance his power. Apart from his dislike of the English, his bitter experience with them compelled him to decide to crush them. To achieve his end, he strengthened his relationship with the French. Lord Cornwallis, who was the Governor-General of India then viewed with apprehension the Tipu's alliance with the French. Though he was required to follow the instructions of the Court of Directors, to adopt a policy of non-intervention he found it impossible to comply with them under these circumstances. Therefore the Governor-General sought a friendly alliance with the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad. The conquest of Travancore by Tipu however brought the English into direct conflict with him. Marquess of Wellesley, the new Governor-

General resolved to put an end to Tipu's ambition. Eventually, the fourth Mysore War took place and Tipu was killed in 1799.

The victory of the English over Tipu placed the whole kingdom of Mysore under the control of the British. Various self interest of the English made them to place Krishnaraja Wodeyar III who was the surviving member of the dynasty of Wodeyars on the throne of Mysore.

Chapter one deals with the Historical Retrospect giving a background of the origin of Wodeyars and developments with the rise of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan.

It is very interesting to speculate over the intentions of Wellesley in restoring Wodeyar dynasty. Was it necessitated by the relationship of English with the ancient Royal family of Mysore? Or was it political expediency warranted by the need to maintain the balance of power? What were the views of Sir Thomas Munro, a member of the Commission appointed for the purpose of establishing a separate Government in Mysore? What was the attitude of Purniah, the Finance Minister of Tipu towards the ancient Royal family? These are the important issues taken up for discussions in Chapter second. A brief sketch of the early career education and character of Krishna Raja Wodeyar and of Dewan Purniah who later introduced various reforms in the dispensation of Mysore are also discussed there.

Chapter third deals with relations between the British and representatives of the Raja of Mysore according to the treaty of Srirangapatna. It also examines provisions of the treaty and its advantages to the Raja of Mysore.

Krishnaraja Wodeyar's assumption of power and his personal administration, his lavish expenditure, inefficient and corrupt officials of the Raja, his incapacity to set right the wrongs in the administration and finally the insurrection leading to the deposition of the Raja are the subject of Chapter fourth.

The changes that were brought in by the deposition of the Raja, the appointment of Board of Commissioners, their difference of opinion - the reforms effected by them, the Board substituted by a single commissioner and the reforms - these are the issues discussed in Chapter fifth.

The Chapter sixth deals with one, the position of the Raja after his dethronement, two, his efforts, to regain power, three, the policy of the Governor-Generals and Viceroys towards Raja's plea for his reinstatement together with their refusal to adopt; four, the parliamentary discussions and public opinion in England and India in support of the Raja's case; five, the bold action of the Raja in adopting a son in defiance of the British; and finally six, the success of the Raja.

Chapter seventh, which is the concluding chapter deals with the death of Krishnaraja Wodeyar, an assessment of his personality and of his rule.

2. RESTORATION AND SETTLEMENT

The restoration of the kingdom of Mysore to Krishnaraja Wodeyar III in 1799 is an event of great significance in the history of Mysore as it was nothing short of reinstatement of the ancient dynasty. The victory of the English and their allies over Tipu Sultan in 1799 had placed the whole of Mysore kingdom in the hands of the company and the allies.[1] The restoration of peace and order, introducing an orderly administration and the settlement of the territories were some of the immediate problems facing the victors. In the settlement of the territories, the objects of Governor-General Marquess of Wellesley were twofold: first, to obtain reasonable indemnification for the cost of the war and second, to safeguard the company's interest in Mysore against any possible danger. In this regard the Governor-General was empowered with supreme powers by the Court of Directors. He regarded the company's interest as the prime factor in settling the matter. His letter to the Court of Directors dated 7th June, 1799, clearly bears evidence in this respect. He wrote -

> "To divide the territory into three equal parts allowing the Marathas to have an equal share who had taken no part in

---

[1] Wellington Despatches, Vol. III, p.23. See Mysore State Papers (hereafter called M.S.P., Vol.II, p.53.

> the war is not just and humane in the interest of Nizam. To divide the territory between the company and Nizam affords jealousy to the Marathas. The establishment of a separate and central power in the ancient territories of Mysore appeared to be the best and expedient for reconciling the interest of all parties."[2]

What were the motives of Wellesley in restoring the ancient dynasty to the throne of Mysore? Why did he not, for instance divide the territory equally between the company and the Nizam instead of giving it back to the Wodeyars? The reason is that he could easily foresee the consequences. If the Nizam was given any share in the territory of Mysore, he would be strong and the interest of the company would be endangered. If on the other hand, the company itself had appropriated the entire territory, the Nizam would have been offended and the company would lose an helpful ally. Thus Wellesley decided to restore the ancient dynasty of the Wodeyars for the triple purpose of pleasing the Nizam, maintaining the company's influence and winning the favour of the local powers. The decision of the Governor-General, however, was not approved by Thomas Munro. Munro, one of the Secretaries of the newly appointed Commission for the settlement of Mysore, was against the restoration of the ancient dynasty. On the contrary, he favoured an equal distribution of the State

---

2. Wellesley Despatches, Vol. II, p. 36 (Letter written to Rt.Hon.Dundas, dt.7th June, 1799, regarding the statement of Mysore and outlines of new settlement).

between the Nizam and the company. Munro thought that Wellesley was afraid lest the position of the Nizam should become too strong. He remarked in this connection,

> "I do not know a single argument against the partition of Mysore dominions unless it may be thought that it would make the Nizam too powerful but this is an objection without foundation."[3]

He further observed,

> "In respect of advantages by restoring the ancient dynasty no political advantage can be gained by dragging a descendant of the Raja of Mysore from his obscurity. By establishing a Raja and keeping him at Srirangapatna and a strong detachment in Mysore subsidised by him, we apparently get rid of present expenses but by leaving the administration to him, we remain in ignorance of the state of affairs."[4]

This statement of Munro was prophetic. It came true later during the time of Krishna Raja Wodeyar's personal rule. The Raja being negligent towards his duties, he delegated his administrative responsibility to his officials who were corrupt and inefficient. This paved the way for disorder which duly followed. It resulted as will be seen later in an insurrection by his subjects and finally led to the deposition of the Raja in 1831. Munro was not the only person to oppose. Purniah also objected to the restoration of Mysore to the Wodeyors, and surprisingly enough he recommended the installation of Futteeh Haider, son of Tipu

---

3. Sir Thomas Munro's Minutes on the partition of Mysore, dated 10th June, 1799. M.S.P., Vol.II, 1922, p. 271. See also Gleig: Life of Sir Thomas Munro.

4. Ibid., pp. 269-271

Sultan as the ruler of Mysore, and expressed his desire to become the Dewan.[5] He was too faithful a protagonist of Tipu and his house. Nevertheless it is quite surprising that Purniah, a Hindu, favoured the Muslim rule. The reason is not far to seek. Purniah had risen to a high position under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan and was doubtless afraid that the change of dynasty would be detrimental to his interests. But the Governor General was firm and refused to consider the suggestion both of Munro and Purniah. He would have nothing to do with any family that had a hand in the establishment of French alliance. Nor he was agreeable to give an equal share to the Nizam, as in that case the Nizam would become too powerful. Thus the creation of a native state by restoring the ancient family was viewed by Wellesley as the right step in the settlement of the territory. For the Raja would remain grateful and subservient to the company, and the Marathas jealousy would not be excited. Besides, the close alliance between the company and the Royal family during the years 1761-99 was also a factor, favourable to the restoration of the ancient family to the throne of Mysore.

With these considerations, Wellesley appointed a Commission for the settlement of the territory. The commission included as its members, General Harris, Colonel Arthur Wellesley, Kirkpatrick and Barryclose. Malcolm and Major Munro were its Secretaries and Edward Golding the assistant Secretary. The commission's job was to conduct the details of the arrangements and conclude the treaty with the Nizam.[6] The members were styled as Commissioners for the affairs of Mysore. They were given full powers to negotiate and conclude in the Governor-General's name all matters with regard to the settlement of the territory. As a result of the deliberation of the commission the partition treaty of Mysore was concluded on 22nd June 1799, between the Nizam and the company, stipulating the establishment of a separate Government in Mysore. It was also agreed that Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, a descendant of the ancient Rajas of Mysore, be placed on the throne.[7] The treaty also provided for a subsidiary force to be furnished by the company to assist the Raja, for which purpose a separate treaty was to be concluded with the Raja of Mysore.[8] On 8th June, 1799, Wellesley wrote to the commissioners to proceed with the conclusion of the treaties, and authorised them to place the Raja formally upon the Musnud (throne) and appoint in Raja's name Purniah

---

[5] Wellesley Despatches, Vol. II, Letter No.II, p.7. See also M.S.P., Vol. II, pp. 11-12.

---

6. Wellesley Despatches, Vol. II, p. 23.

7. Partition Treaty of Mysore - Article 4, C.V.Aitchinson - A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. IX (1909).

8. Ibid. - Article No. 9

to be his Dewan.[9] Thus the ancient dynasty of Mysore was reinstated in the name of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III.

Krishnaraja Wodeyar was the only son of Chamaraja Wodeyar and his wife Kempananjammanni, and was born at Srirangapatna in 1794. The childhood of Krishnaraja Wodeyar was unhappy. As a young child he was kept with his mother and relatives under house arrest by the orders of Tipu, the family being given an allowance for subsistence.[10] The boy was naturally timid by nature and Valentia, a nephew of Wellesley who paid a visit to Srirangapatna during his house arrest, describes him as of middle stature when eleven years old, "neither tall nor short of his age, nor handsome but of an intelligent countenance.[11] The boy was given traditional education. He began by learning languages like Marathi and Persian. He was trained in archery, horse riding and such other physical exercises.[12] The boy was placed on the throne in the Fort of Mysore on 30th June, 1799. On that occasion General Harris delivered the Seal and Signet to the boy and announced on behalf of the Governor General the appointment of Purniah as Dewan. Barry Close was appointed as Resident

---

9. Governor-General's Proclamation on the affairs of Mysore - MSP., Vol. II, pp.53-54.

10. R.H.CampBell - The fall of Srirangapatna and the restoration of Hindu Raja.

11. An Article in Q.J.M.S., Vol.X, 1919, p. 24. George Count Valentia - Voyage and Travels, 1809, Vol.I, p. 425.

12. A.R.F., Part I, p. 225.

to the Court of Mysore to represent the company. The reinstatement of the ancient dynasty was accomplished fully.[13] The Raja was under the Regency of Maharani Lakshmi Ammanni for one year after the restoration. Lakshmi Ammanni was the daughter of Katti Gopal Raj Urs, who played an important role in the seige of Trichinopoly by Dalvoy Nanjarajeiah. She was the widow of Raja Chikka Krishnaraja Wodeyar. She survived the period the rise of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan during which time she was under house arrest. It was in fact her great ambition that led to her negotiation with the English for a friendly alliance and the restoration of her family.[14] She was able to foresee clearly that the safety of her house lay in establishing and strengthening the friendship of the royal house with the English. In return for the proposed restoration, she agreed to pay to the company the peshcash or tribute of five lakhs of pagodas a year in monthly instalments in addition to making over to the English such part or parts of the royal territory which would yield the income of one lakh of pagodas a year. Till her proposals were finally accepted and carried out, she went on persuading the English to champion her cause. After the restoration, she acted as regent for one year from 1799-1800. During this period, she conducted the proceedings of the Court

---

13. Krishnaraja Wodeyar Birthday Kaifiyat 1937, p.12

14. C.V.Actchinson - Treaties, Engagements and Sannads - Treaty of 1782, Vol. No.IX

according to the ancient traditions.[15] Even after the regency, she continued to function as the guiding spirit of her house. In short, she was a remarkable lady endowed with great patience, courage and endurance, apart from political wisdom she exhibited. On her death the acting Resident remarked "the good sense of this princess evinced by her great attention to the education of the Raja, her benevolence, prudence and strict regard to domestic arrangements make the decease of Her Highness a matter of sincere regret to the Court."[16]

Purniah as Dewan 1800-1811

Purniah had proved to be a phenomenal prodigy under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan. He was great as financier, administrator and statesman. The manner in which he had served Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan was praiseworthy. The English were profoundly impressed by his abilities. It was his remarkable qualities that prompted them to appoint him as regent and Dewan, though it was known that he was in favour of the continuation of the house of Haidar Ali. The early life of Purniah is shrouded in mystery. The secondary sources of information such as contemporary literary works also do not throw light on the manner in which Purniah's early life was spent. According to Francis Buchanan, Purniah was born of a family in Coimbatore (Madras State) which migrated to Mysore in the days of Haider Ali. He entered the service of Haider Ali and began to work as Mutsaddi (chief clerk or Accountant).[17] Kirmani says that Purniah rapidly rose from this humble position to the rank of a minister of Haider in charge of Toshekhana.[18] It is also recorded that he was a Gumastha (writer) under Venkataramanaiah, a Kannada accountant in the Government of Mysore whom Purniah succeeded after his death.[19] When he worked as an accountant he was looking after factories (Kharakhane). According to Buchanan, Purniah knew a good number of languages and had mastery over Tamil, Kannada, Urdu, Marathi and Persian in particular. During the rule of Haider, he was allowed all the previleges and honours of a state minister and was one of the prominent members of Haider's Court.[20] His loyalty and integrity were remarkable and in recognition of his devoted service, a village named Marahalli in the present Heggadadevana Kate Taluk was granted to him as Jagir.[21] The parents of Purniah are mentioned in the annuls of the Wodeyars. According to the annals Krishnamacharya is the father and Lakshamma as the mother of Purniah. The annals describe Krishnamacharya as a well-known Sanskrit Pandit. When Purniah was eleven years old however Krishnamacharya died. It was his death which reduced his family to abject poverty that compelled Purniah and his brother Venkata Rao to migrate from Coimbatore to Satyamangala, a village on the border of Mysore state in 1760. At Satyamangala Purniah served one merchant called Ranga Setty having business transactions with Annadana Setty of Srirangapatna, the chief supplier of provisions to the household of Haider Ali. It was through Annadana Setty that Purniah came into contact with Haidar whose service he subsequently joined.[22] His rapid rise from a humble position to high prominence during the time of Haidar was the result of quick intelligence and devoted service. Purniah continued service as Finance Minister to Tipu who frequently entrusted to him such additional duties as that of the Commander of Forts. He won the admiration of Tipu also. Under Tipu such was the power of Purniah that he was next only to Mir Sadak, the Finance Minister and the right hand of Tipu.[23] These were the antecedents of Purniah when he was appointed as Dewan to Krishna Raja Wodeyar. Purniah had to face varied problems as the Dewan. In the first instance the State was in disarray. War had caused considerable damage to the economy of the state. Secondly providing a state administration and establishment of peace and tranquility. Thirdly, the subjugation of poligars who were still active and finally fulfilment of the conditions of the subsidiary treaty of

---

[15] 15. Mad.Pol.Cons. 1805, Vol. 2; See also Wilks Report, para 69, p. 972.

[16] 16. Resident to Governor of Madras. Mad.Pol.Cons.1809, Vol.5, p.2770 dated 20th November, 1829.

---

[17] Buchanan Travels, Vol. I, p. 391.

[18] Meer Hussain Ali Khan Kirmani - History of Haidar Naik (in Persian) translated into English by Col.Miles, p.242.

[19] Haider Nama (a manuscript in Kannada), M.A.R., 1930, pp. 95-96.

[20] Mahmud Khan Bangalorie - Tarik-e-Sultan-e-Khudad.

[21] Rice - Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 421.

---

[22] M.Shama Rao - Modern Mysore

[23] Rice - Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 421.

Srirangapatna. With his experience under Haider and Tipu, Purniah was no doubt suited to face these. Purniah faced all these problems with great vigour and courage. For eleven years he conducted the administration with efficiency and success. Prior to his appointment as Dewan, he had been only a trusted and loyal servant of Haider and Tipu, the enemies of the English. But now he had to shoulder heavy responsibilities in the capacity of the Dewan and to administer the state under the direction of the company.

Purniah could easily perceive that political stability claimed the topmost priority, as such, stability alone would ensure other improvements. In this direction he proceeded first by proclaiming general pardon for various kinds of defaulters. This was in order to restore confidence among the inhabitants. He established peace and order with the help of ancient military force called _Kandachar_ which he greatly reorganised. In order to maintain peace in the state, the Dewan had to start with subjugated poligars. The poligars were self-styled princes hiding in thick jungles. They organised themselves into groups of bandits when the central authority was weak and exploited the situation to paralayse administration. During the time of Haidar many of them were subjugated but not all. Purniah who was determined to crush them completely resorted to strict measures. In the first place the _pallams_ or lands of poligars were confiscated by Purniah and brought under state control.[24]

---

[24] Wilks Report, para 28, p. 955.

But Purniah also adopted the policy of conciliation in this respect wherever it was possible. Secondly he forced the subjugated poligars to render military service to the state.[25] Notorious poligars were ruthlessly put to death by Purniah's order. For instance in the year 1802, Venkatadri Naik, poligar of Aigoor who had ravaged the territory of Mysore was executed in his own stronghold. Wherever the poligars were active, Purniah got further garrisons placed in strategic places, such as Munzerabad.[26]

For the purpose of administration, the state was divided by Purniah into three zones called Suba and each administered by Subhedar. The Subhedar carried out the executive, judicial and revenue functions. The next administrative unit was the district governed by the chief officer. In all the districts, the chief officer's cutcheries were established. Srirangapatna was the only exception. It was the largest district under the direct control of the Dewan.[27] The taluk was the next unit of administration. The head of the taluk was called Amildar who exercised judicial, police and revenue functions. The Amildar in his revenue duties was assisted by a revenue officer, called Sheristedar or Parapatti. Each taluk was further divided into several Hoblis each managed by a set

---

25. Ibid., para 30, p. 956.

26. Dewan Purniah to Clive, Governor of Fort St.George, Mad. Pol. Cons. 1801, pp. 395-99.

27. Buchanan Travels, Vol. I, p. 56.

of officers functioning as the intermediaries between Amildars and Patels (village headman). The head of Hobli was called Parapatti. He was responsible for the collection of revenue in his Hobli.[28] The parapattis were required to tour the villages in order to examine the cultivation and supervise irrigational tanks. They also settled such disputes as were not within the purview of powers. At the bottom of the administrative structure lay the village. It was under the control of Patel, the village headman, whose duties it was to collect the revenue, maintain peace and order in the village, settle minor civil, criminal and revenue disputes within his jurisdiction. The Patel formed a link between the village and the central government. In his revenue duties, the Patel was assisted by an accountant called Shanbhog who maintained the revenue records. The other village officials were Toti and Talwari whose duty was to patrol the village.

The revenue administration of Purniah forms one of the most important achievements of his career. He reorganised the revenue system by granting remission wherever it was necessary. The damages caused by the late war received such remission in particular. Further, the rate on the land tax was lowered with a view to encouraging more land cultivation. The sources of revenue were the land tax, the sayer tax on toddy and other liquors, tobacco, sandalwood and pines. The land tax included house tax and plough tax, and varied from zone to zone. Sayer was the duty levied on the internal trade of the state. Toddy and other liquors and tobacco formed the next source of revenue. The tax on land was paid in cash in Ballam and Bednore. Waram was the form of land tenure in the state. It provided for a customary rent to be paid by the tillers to the tenants or the land owner. This system was in existence during the time of Haidar and Tipu. The government granted agricultural loans to the cultivators called Takkavi. According to Wilks: The whole revenue was under Amani or government management.[29] The second source of revenue was sayer. It was a tax levied as excise duty. Purniah considered this as an important source of revenue in the state for well developed commerce or export trade were inadequate in the state. The sale of sandalwood, mostly to the company itself brought additional revenue. There were several items of expenditure, such as, grant of lands for religious purposes, expenditure on public works, establishment expenses of revenue and other civil departments, subsidy to the company, money spent on the Raja's household establishments, the personal expenses of the Dewan and extraordinary expenses including presents to poligars. Grants in land and money formed a large part of expenditure.

---

[28] Ibid., p. 56

---

29. Wilk's Report, Para 45, p. 963.

In view of the nature and extent of expenditure in the beginning of July 1799, Purniah submitted a statement to the commissioners regarding the expenses allowed by Haider Ali which were obviously excessive.[30] They were expenses incurred on such items as Temples and Agraharas 1,93,959 k.p.; Mathas (religious institutions) 20,000 k.p. and Mohamadan establishments 20,000 k.p. The Governor-General naturally did not approve of such huge extravagance and reduced it greatly with a view to introducing economy in the finance of the state. As early as September 1799, the Governor General drew the attention of Dewan Purniah to the alienation of lands to Brahmins and temples. He wrote to the Resident, "that though this might have been less in amount than what had existed before Haidar Ali, they were still much as the circumstances of the country could permit. You must be therefore careful, said Wellesley how you allow any augmentation of these establishments or any alienation of the sircar lands on whatever account. It will be proper that you should come to the very explicit understanding with Purniah on this head letting him plainly know that no grants of the nature in question must ever be made without your approbation."[31] This warning of the Governor-General appears to be of great importance as the expenditure as a result of alienation of lands to Brahmins and temples increased towards the end of Purniah's administration. It is to be noted that this particular aspect strained the relationship between the Raja and company in the later years. In conformity with the instructions of the Resident, Purniah instituted an enquiry in this regard and redistributed the same.[32] As a result, he was able to reduce the expenditure. The next part of expenditure included a number of miscellaneous items which Wilks terms as indefinite expenses. They included extraordinary military expenditure incurred by the Raja's government in aiding the company in its war which he was required to according to the third article of the subsidiary treaty of Srirangapatna. There was no fixed sum prescribed for the purpose. Besides, the government had to pay for the troops sent to the company's aid in addition to rewards on their return. According to Purniah, the value of presents alone amounted to Rs.2,00,000/-.[33] Inspite of such huge items of expenditure, it is to the credit of Purniah that he used to save one lakh of star pagodas annually.

---

[30] Proceedings of the Commissioners for Mysore, 9th July, 1799. Mad. Sec.Proc. 23rd July, 1799.

[31] William Kirkpatrick, Private Secretary to the Governor-General to Resident, 4th September, 1799. Mad. Sec. Proc., 4th March, 1811.

With a view to establishing a stable administration, the Dewan considered that an organised judiciary was a necessity. On the one hand he reorganised the judiciary in accordance with the western pattern, and on the other he revived the ancient law of India.[34] There was a Judicial Court to deal with cases other than the religious. The Subhadars and Amildars were invested with judicial powers by the Dewan to deal with the civil and criminal cases within their jurisdiction. In 1805 Purniah constituted a High Court called the court of Adalat. Both criminal and civil cases were heard and tried. It consisted of two judges and a jury of six responsible persons called Committee Wallahas.[35] Punishment was inflicted on the basis of the nature of gravity. Capital punishment was prohibited.

---

[32] Wilks Report, para 188, p. 1017.

[33] Purniah to Bentinck, Governor of Madras, 18th August, 1804. Mad.Pol.Proc., 7th Sept. 1804, p. 1614

The chief military force of the state was known as Kandachar. It consisted of irregular foot soldiers variously dressed with match locks pikes.[36] The recruits were mostly from among agricultural labourers who performed military duties during the vacant part of the year. As a result of their seasonal military duties, the Kandachar force had become an irregular infantry. Haider and Tipu had employed such men in large numbers by restraining their agricultural duties.[37] As against their practice, Purniah issued instructions to the amils to recruit the agricultural labourers solely for military service. Their duties were well defined. Taking care of forts and walled villages was part of such duties. The Kandachar recruits were also required to obey the police officers. They received as their pay, fixed monthly emoluments half in cash and half in kind. In addition they were entitled to a bata (daily allowance) of three and half rupees. These clear-cut regulations about their pay enabled Purniah to transform the Kandachar force into a regular infantry. The number of soldiers enrolled exclusively for military service was 20,027 by 1801 and their total annual pay amounted to 2,25,862 k.p.

---

[34] Wilk's Report, para 77, p. 977.

[35] Lewis Rice - Mysore Gazetteer, Vol.I, p.610.

[36] Op. cit., para 19, p. 948.

[37] Ibid.

Purniah was equally effective in his economic policies. His sole aim was to have a sound financial system so as to bring about a balance between income and expenditure. To achieve this aim he introduced a rational system of taxation. Accordingly treasuries were established in each district to regulate the finances of the state. The treasury was managed by three officers, viz., Amildar, Sheristedar and Gollar.[38] The state mint was located at Srirangapatna in accordance with Purniah's plans.[39] These measures enabled the Dewan not only to fulfil the obligations of the subsidiary treaty but also to build up a cash revenue reserved for unforeseen emergencies such as, draught and famine.

The next important area of improvement to attract the attention of Purniah was Public Works. Numerous public works were undertaken by his order and most of the existing works were repaired and renovated. For example, a dam across the river Caveri was built near Sagarkatte in order to increase drinking water supply to the city of Mysore. Similarly, an irrigational canal was constructed near Mysore which was named as Purniah Nallah.[40] Tanks and water courses were repaired. Apart from these works, Purniah got the Mysore Palace newly built and renovated the forts of Mysore,Bangalore and Channapatna. He spent large sums of money also on the renovation of religious buildings, such as temples and mosques. Public Choultrys or Chatrams were constructed all over the state where food was served free to the needy. Such Chatrams are remembered as Purniachatra even to this day.

---

[38] Ibid., para 63, p. 972

[39] Ibid., para 73, p. 975

Purniah greatly encouraged agriculture which promoted the general prosperity of the state. It made on the one hand people happy and enabled the state on the other to build up considerable stocks of food grains meant for emergency. The foresight of Purniah in this respect is vindicated by the fact that when a famine occurred in the Krishna and Tungabhadra districts of the kingdom of Nizam, Mysore was able to accommodate the evacuees in its territory and provide them with food and employment.[41] Reporting on the general prosperity of the state, Purniah wrote to the

---

[40] Mysore State Papers, Vol. I, No.2, p. 258.

[41] Purniah to William Bentinck, Governor of Fort St.George, Mad. Pol. Cons., Vol. 2, 1804, p.1173, dated 20-6-1804.

Governor of Madras as follows:

> "The inhabitants of Mysore are contented and happy and are assiduously employed in cultivation. In every district grains and other articles are cheap and corn is plentiful. All classes of people enjoy peace and tranquility."[42]

This is the aptest comment on Purniah' achievements.

Purniah's popularity made many officials envious of him. It is small wonder if he got enormous popularity from all sides. As a result they carried rumours to the Raja and alleged that the Dewan who was growing old and feeble looks upon the Raja still as a mere child and was crazy of power. Such rumours and slanders influenced Krishnaraja Wodeyar who was then sixteen years old. He forthwith expressed his desire to assume power himself. Consequently Purniah tendered his resignation in 1811. The various kinds of difference of opinion between the king and his Dewan are traced to Purniah's peculiar feelings incidental to his declining years of infirmity.[43] Whatever the reasons, it is true that ill feelings developed between the Raja and the Dewan by 1811 and their relationship was strained. As a result after Purniah tendered resignation and relinquished the office, the Raja appointed a Committee to probe into the Dewan's conduct and his administration during his tenure. The Committee was headed by Rama Rao who later became the Dewan, Balaji Rao and Subba Rao, two

---

42. Purniah to G.H.Barlow, Governor of Fort St.George, Mad. Country Correspondence, 1809, Letter No.2, pp. 47-49, dated 16-6-1809.

43. Resident to Chief Secretary to the Governor, Fort St. George, dt.29th March, 1812. Mad.Pol.Cons., Vol.2, p. 972.

senior government officials to act as arbitrators. The committee found the Dewan guilty of extravagant expenditure under the heads of charities to Brahmins and of accumulation of wealth for the state by unfair means.[44] The Dewan was asked to pay a fine of 14,15,779 k.p. as a punishment. It is said that Purniah paid 6,69,750 k.p. only. Besides he restored also jewellery valued at 1,14,000 k.p. alleged to have been appropriated by his relatives from the public treasury.[45]

Purniah's administration was subjected to criticism in other respects as well. The attack is mainly against his expenditure and the accumulation of wealth. Within five years after he resigned, the Raja wrote:

> "The late Dewan Purniah whose talent lay only in the collection of revenue directed his attention to the accumulation of money for the purpose of displaying his industry and zeal in the branch of administration and he was inattentive to those interests of the people, and the inhabitants were consequently reduced to great difficulties."[46]

In 1833 the insurrection Committee remarked:

> "But not withstanding public tranquility and financial prosperity it does not appear that the wealth of the country was incurred under the administration of Purniah. And the people were reduced to poverty at close."[47]

Soon after the Raja accused Purniah of unfair accumulation

---

44. Mad. Sec. Proc., 15-10-1811.

45. Resident to Madras. Mad. Sec. Proc., 1811, p.387, dated 18-10-1811.

46. Maharaja to Elliot, Governor of Madras. Mad.Country correspondence 1815, Vol.No.8269, p.5.

47. Insurrection Committee Report, para 3, published in 1833.

of wealth in 1815, the Resident secured a secret statement from Purniah's son which explains how the Dewan accumulated the wealth in question. According to Venkoba Rao, the wealth was made up of Kusri, probably profit or commission in trade, Ummawal unclaimed property acquired by the government, recovery of money from the servants of the state as a result of detection of embezzlement cases, nazar or presents, nazrana or fines and interest on loans.[48] Venkoba Rao argues that accumulation of money was a dire necessity as Purniah had to fulfil the obligations of the subsidiary treaty on the one hand, and to meet the extraordinary expenses of the state on the other. On the whole, however, contemporary records reveal a favourable opinion of Purniah's administrative abilities, his regularity and sincerity. There is no doubt whatsoever that Purniah was a successful statesman and administrators. The very fact that he was appointed as Dewan by Wellesley despite his fine feelings for the family of Tipu bespeaks of his unquestioned integrity, administrative expense and tactfulness. He earned the honour and prestige both from the English and from his own people in Mysore. The Court of Directors who received all information as a matter of procedure expressed their satisfaction at his abilities. In their resolution, they said:

> "The board is happy about the conduct of the Dewan in the execution of his duties which continues to afford ground for entire satisfaction."[49]

---

[48] Resident to the Governor of Madras. Mad.Sec.Proc.No.1825, No.1, p.554. See Sir Thomas Munro's minutes, 8th Nov. 1825.

[49] Board resolution No.9. Mad.Pol.Cons.Vol.2,pp.1801-1802.

John Malcolm, the Resident observes,

> "he could not call to mind during the period of Purniah's Dewanship one instance in which his conduct censured by those authorities to whose inspection and control, he has been subjected to."[50]

Munro who knew Purniah well states that -

> "Purniah was a man calculated to realise the most sanguine hopes that could have been formed. He was beyond all comparisons, better qualified than any other person for it and both his interest and ambition led him to exert every means to promote the welfare and fesources of the country under his administration, we cannot expect a man so qualified."[51]

Wilks remarks,

> "Every trait in the character of the Dewan makes him as an extraordinary man."

Such high praise which Purniah received is not undeserved. He was sincere in his duties, remarkably honest, tactful and above all shrewd in judging circumstances. Purniah's administration was based on progressive lines. He was mindful of the duties even in the most trying circumstances. Purniah associated freely with his men and secured advantages from his British contemporaries. Both in political and administrative fields he displayed energy and capacity. In private life he was simple. A staunch follower of Shri Madhavacharya, Purniah was deeply religious and well read in the Sastras. He was not amenable to flattery and does not appear to have been concious of his greatness or abilities. If Purniah's regulations and administrative talents had been continued by the successive Dewans and the Raja with the same zeal and integrity, there would not have been any opportunity for the company's interference in 1831. But the successive Dewans were not men of calibre like Purniah.

---

[50] Resident of Mysore to Governor, Fort St.George, Mad. Pol. Cons., 1807, Vol.5, p. 2733.

[51] Minutes of Sir Thomas Munro, 8th Nov. 1825, p.16. Mad. Sec. Proc. No.115, pp. 544-45.

3. RELATION BETWEEN THE COMPANY AND THE RAJA OF MYSORE

The partition treaty of Mysore was concluded on 22nd June, 1799. It was between the English East India Company and the Nizam of Hyderabad. It forms an important political document in the history of Anglo-Indian relations of the 18th century. On the one hand it brought to a close the great war on Tipu Sultan. On the other it put an end to the ambitious designs of Tipu's family who were claiming right to the throne of Mysore. Further the treaty strengthened the relationship between the Company and the Nizam of Hyderabad in addition to enlarging their territory.

The most important aspect of the partition treaty of Mysore however relates to the affairs of the Mysore politics. It was the establishment of the new government in Mysore by the restoration of the ancient dynasty of the Wodeyars. Krishna Raja Wodeyar III was now invested with the regal powers.[1] The partition treaty also provided for the suitable assistance of the Subsidiary Force to the Raja by the English East India Company for the effective establishment of the Government of Mysore. For this purpose a separate treaty was concluded between the company and the Raja of Mysore. It is called as the Subsidiary Treaty of

---

[1] C.U.Aitchinson - A Collection of Treaties Engagements and Sanads, Vol.IX, pp. 240-45, Article 4th.

Srirangapatna. It forms the basis for the political relationship between the company and the Raja of Mysore. The treaty was concluded by the commission and the Raja's representatives on 8th July, 1799. It was ratified by the Governor-General-in-Council on 23rd July, 1799 and was given the title "Subsidiary treaty of Srirangapatna".

The aim of Wellesley in bringing the Raja of Mysore was two fold. In the first place he wanted to ensure safety and security to the British vis-a-vis the external danger to the territory of Mysore. In the second, he wanted to prevent the state of Mysore from falling into corrupt and inefficient administration. This has been made very clear by Wellesley himself in his letter to Henry Dundas. While writing to him on the state of affairs in Mysore immediately after the war, Wellesley wrote:

> "It is my intention to draw the connection between the company and the Raja as close as possible by a Subsidiary treaty and I will clearly define out powers of interference in his internal government as to preclude the embarassments which have occasioned so much distress in the Carnatic, Oudh and Tanjore."[2]

Articles IV and V of the Subsidiary treaty which are explained here give a clear indication of the motives of Wellesley. The subsidiary treaty provided for the assumption of administration of the Mysore State in case the Raja failed to pay the Subsidiary regularly. As usual the treaty proved to be advantageous more to the company than to the native State of Mysore.

---

[2] Wellesley Despatches, Vol.II, pp.35-43. See also Mysore State Papers, Vol. II, p. 73.

Wellesley was firm in his ideas. He wrote in his letter dated 3rd August, 1799:

> "In framing the engagement, it was my determination to establish the most unqualified community of interests between the Govt. of Mysore and the company and to render Raja's northern frontier in effect, a powerful line of our defence. With this view, I have engaged to undertake the protection of this country in consideration of annual Subsidy of seven lakhs of star pagodas; but recollecting the inconveniences and embarassments which have arisen to all parties concerned under the double Governments and conflicting authorities unfortunately established in Oudh, Carnatic, Tanjore, I resolved to reserve to the company the most extensive and indisputable powers of interposition in the internal affairs of Mysore as well as an unlimited right of assuming the direct management of the country (whenever such a step might appear necessary for the security of funds destined to subsidy) and of requring extraordinary aid beyond the amount of the fixed subsidy either in time of war or of preparations for hostility."[3]

The Subsidiary treaty of Srirangapatna concluded on 8th July 1799, thus made the Raja virtually a dependant on the company. The terms and conditions agreed by the contracting parties allowed little or no scope for the individuality of the Raja. This can be very well seen by analysing the articles of the treaty.

The first Article of the treaty stipulates "that the friends and enemies of either of contracting parties

---

3. Wellesley's Despatches, Vol.II, p. 85. See also Sidney Owen - A Selection from the Despatches, treaties and other papers of Marquess of Wellesley, dated 3rd August, 1799, p. 144.

shall be considered as the friends and enemies of both."

In other words, the friends and enemies of the company were to be considered by the Raja as his friends and enemies and vice-versa. But the article is vague. It does not clearly point out who the enemies were and who the friends. Similarly any contingency of an enemy of the company being the friend of the Raja of Mysore and vice versa is not envisaged. And no specified action is indicated in case such a contingency arises.

The second article say that -

> "the company agrees to maintain and His Highness Maharaja of Mysore agree to receive a military force for the defence and security of His Highnesses dominions; in consideration of which His Highness engages to pay the annual sum of seven lakh of star pagados in twelve equal monthly instalments commencing from 1st July 1799. The disposal of the said sum together with the arrangement and employment of troops maintained by it shall be left entirely to the company."

This means that the company agreed to provide a military force for the safeguard of the territorial security of the Raja's dominions both internally and externally. The Raja of Mysore agreed to receive the subsidiary force. Secondly, for this subsidiary force given by the company, the Raja was required to pay an annual sum of seven lakhs of star pagodas in twelve monthly instalments. Thirdly, the employment of such force was entirely at the discretion of the company. In other words, for which the company and not the Raja of Mysore was to be the sole judge to determine whether any threat to the security of his kingdom. Though the troops of the company was stationed within the dominions of the Raja of Mysore, he thus had no power to make use of it. In this way, control over the subsidiary force was entirely in the hands of the company. The third article lays down that -

> "For the protection and defence of territories of contracting parties or of either of them, the hostilities shall be undertaken or preparation made for commencing hostilities shall be undertaken or preparation made for commencing hostilities against any state or power, the Raja agreed to contribute towards the discharge of expenses incurred by the augmentation of the military force and the unavoidable charges of war, such a sum as shall appear to the Governor-General-in-Council's consideration."

According to this the Raja of Mysore was required to share the expenses of any kind of war, a war might break out because of hostilities undertaken. It might be declared against any state or power. Its cause might be for the defence of the territories either of the company and the Raja of Mysore or any one. Whether Raja's territory was subjected to aggression or not, he was required to defray the expenses as per the treaty. In the event of any of these, the burden of the war was to be borne entirely by the Raja and as if this was not enough it was Governor-General and not the Raja who was to determine the sum to be paid.

The fourth article of the treaty is the very height of Wellesley's aggrandizement. For, it makes the Raja of Mysore entirely dependent on the British. It reads -

> "whereas it is indispensably necessary that effectual and lasting security should be provided against any failure in the funds destined to defray either the expense of maintaining the permanent military force in time of peace, or extraordinary expense described in the third article of the present treaty, it is hereby stipulated and agreed between the contracting parties that whenever Governor-General-in-Council shall at liberty and shall have full power and right either to introduce such regulations and ordinances as he shall deem expedient for the internal management and collection of revenues or for better ordering of any other branch and department of the Government of Mysore or to assume and bring under the direct management of the servants of the said Company such part or parts of territorial possessions of Maharaja as shall appear to him necessary to render the said funds efficient and available either in time of peace or war."

This article clearly infringes upon the sovereign powers of the native princes, yet ironically it forms the essence of the Subsidiary treaty. It virtually places the territory of Mysore in the hands of the Company. Secondly, any breach to the smooth relationship between the company and the Raja would entail the imposition of the Article fourth of the treaty. The article stimulates that the failure in the event of Raja to pay the subsidy in time or to defray the extraordinary expenses mentioned in the third article of the treaty, the Company reserved the right of assuming control of the State of Mysore. Besides, it emphasized the Company's right to introduce regulations for the internal management of the State and collection of its revenues. This should be enough to prove that the purpose of the fourth article was to establish the supremacy of the company over the native State.

The fifth article of the treaty provided the company implementation of the fourth article deemed necessary. The Raja of Mysore was required immediately to place in the hands of the company the charge of administration of his territory by issuing orders to that effect. The article further stipulates that the Raja's failure in this regard would entail the company's right to issue orders on its accord to take over the administration. Lastly the article provided that "in the event of a take over of administration, the company was to give a true and faithful account of the revenues and produce of the State."

It is clear like the fourth article, the fifth empowered the company to assume the administration, when the Raja failed to comply with its orders, articles fourth and fifth were the instruments through which the annexation of Mysore was desired by the company. They however did not openly bring out as a policy of annexation which was done later by Dalhousie.

It is worthwhile to go into the propriety of the company's right in assuming the administration of Mysore in 1831 in the manner it did. Was the Raja so irresponsible as to provide an opportunity to the company? These are the basic issues. An attempt will be made to answer them adequately later. The Article IV was objected to, as early as 1799 by Arthur Wellesley brother of the author of the treaty stating it was tantamount to breach of faith. Therefore he pleaded for its modification. He was one of the members of the commission that negotiated the treaty. He wrote to his brother in the same year:

> "The IV article of the Subsidiary Treaty ought to be modified. As it now stands it will give ground for the belief that we give the Raja the country at the present moment with the intention of taking it away again when it will suit our convenience. They know as well as we do that there may be change of Government immediately and that there certainly will be one in the course of few years and the person then appointed as Governor-General may not have such enlarged systems of policy as thee - by which we have regulated at the present moment. This induces me to believe that they will object strongly to that article and I do not think that it will be very credible to us to insist upon it."[4]

In fact he anticipated the reaction of certain members of Parliament and liberal minded Englishmen. It is true that according to the article, the territory once restored to the Raja could be taken back at any time as the article vested Supreme powers in the company's hand.

---

[4] Wellington's Supplementary Despatches, Vol. I, p.244. (This letter was written before the treaty was concluded.)

The question however arises as to why the representatives of the Raja did not protest against the article. Probably they were ignorant of the implications and consequences of the article. Or they failed to understand the diplomacy of the English. Now Wellesley himself explained the importance and advantages of the article as against the protest of those who objected to it; he wrote:

> "The provisions of 4th and 5th articles absolutely necessary for the purpose of precluding the embarassments which have arisen in Oudh, the Carnatic and Tanjore; and I think it a more candid and liberal as well as a more wise policy, to appraise the Raja distinctly from the first hour of his accession of the nature of his situation than to leave any channel for future ambiguity and discussion."[5]

From this it is clear that Wellesley aimed at avoiding any complication likely to arise at the time of enforcing 4th article of the treaty. Therefore he was in earnest that the Raja should understand the position very clearly in the beginning itself. About 4th and 5th articles taken together it can be said that the former gave the British full power for the assumption and the latter for its consolidation.

Unfortunately the Raja did not understand their implications. Therefore he failed to guard himself against any breach of the conditions of the treaty. His territory was taken over in 1831 on the charges of mismanagement of

---

5. Wellesley Despatches, Vol.II, p. 49, dated 8th June, 1799, Fort St.George.

the funds of the Mysore State, irregularity in paying the subsidy, the break down of the administration and arrears of payment to various establishments. In addition to this the insurrection of 1830 strengthened the stand of the British in the matter. The sixth article of the Treaty prohibited the Raja to have communication with any foreign state without the consent of the company. But the seventh article required him to see that no European is employed in his service without the concurrence of them. He was also required immediately to hand over to the company any Europeans as were without passport.

The 10th article of the treaty required the Raja to seek by formal application the permission of the British for the use of subsidiary force for whose maintenance he was responsible by himself. Moreover the Raja was clearly to understand that Subsidiary force would not be more available to him for any ordinary purposes such as the ordinary transaction of revenue.

By 11th article the Raja was required to make suitable provisions for certain officers of rank who had been in the service of Tipu Sultan.

The next article 12th in number and 13 relate to the commercial concessions and treaties between the company and the Raja.

The 14th article makes stipulation for the Raja -

> "to pay utmost attention to such advice as the company shall occasionally judge it necessary to offer to him with a view to the economy of his finances, the better collection of the revenue, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture and industry or any other subjects connected with the advancement of His Highness's interests, the happiness of the people and the mutual welfare of both states."

This article however was not binding on the Raja. The company merely made the Raja to abide its advice. Such advice was given by political Resident at Mysore. But this was more on a friendly basis. Further, the advice of the company was according to the needs of the time. There is no provision in the article, however as to the kind of advice to be given to the Raja. Similarly no indication of the nature of advice is given.

In return for the provisions of the treaty, the Raja was expected to fulfil certain obligations. Such obligations are mentioned by William Kirkpatrick.[6] He was a member of the body of Commissioners for Mysore affairs and private Secretary to Wellesley in his letter to Resident Barry close in 1799, he wrote accordingly ~~Accordingly~~ in the first place the Raja was responsible for the protection of his territories. Secondly he was to realise the subsidy and the payment of the stipends towards the officers of Tipu Sultan. Lastly he was to superintend and conduct the management of his ministry.

---

[6] Mysore State Papers, Vol. II, 1922, pp.272-85. Letter from William Kirkpatrick to Col.Close about the affairs of Mysore.

As far as the first obligation is concerned the company was bound by the treaty to protect the dominions of the Raja from all danger. It was for this purpose that the subsidy was paid by him. The second obligation was of a particular nature. But it was about certain officers who had been in the service of Tipu. They were either retrenched or found in surplus by the Raja. But the company started paying all such officials adequate stipends throughout their lifetime. The third obligation was rather delicate. It was the superintendence of the conduct and the management of the Raja's ministry. No doubt, the Raja was requested to pay utmost attention to such advice as the company shall occasionally judge it necessary to offer him as per the 14th article of the treaty. But the very article is vague. We get an idea of the type of advice from a certain letter of Kirkpatrick to Resident Close. According to this letter -

> "the Raja was required to superintend with the utmost diligence and vigilance not only for the realization of the subsidy but to the prevention of any necessity on the part of the company to assume charge of the country to which it is on many accounts wished but never enforced."[7]

The fourth obligation was relating to economy in the Raja's expenditure. The resident was required to keep a constant watch on the general expenditure of the Raja's government. He was further obliged to give advice in the powers were rendered merely titular. He had no independence whatsoever in his own state.

---

[7] *Ibid.*

It may be contended that Raja was young at the time of the conclusion of the treaty. He was unaware of the situation in which he was placed. Still the question remains as to why he failed to fulfil the conditions of the treaty and allowed the state of affairs to go worse even when he came of age and thus invited upon himself the calamity that befell on him in his deposition in 1831. It is relevant to mention here that no misfortune could overtake the state as long as Purnaiah acted as regent and Dewan. He also was placed in an equally embarassing position on account of the circumstances required him to serve the Raja was well as the Company.

3. KRISHNARAJA WODEYAR'S PERSONAL RULE AND FINANCIAL POSITION OF MYSORE

Dewan Purniah retired from public life in 1811. Krishnaraja Wodeyar who attained the age of sixteen in that year took charge of administration. His rule lasted from 1811-1831. The Raja had to encounter difficulties when he assumed power. He lacked worldly knowledge and experience and was left to himself to judge the matters at a time when he badly required men of ability to guide him. The days of great men like Purniah, General Wellesley, Barry Close and John Malcolm were over. They were succeeded by men of different idealogies. None of the Dewans who succeeded Purniah such as Bakshi Rama Rao, Siddaraja, Lingaraj and Venkataraj had the courage to express their ideas freely and fearlessly as Purniah did. The Madras Government under whose control, the over all supervision of Mysore was vested gave instructions to the Resident of Mysore not to interfere in the internal affairs of Mysore as the Raja had personally assumed the power.[1] In the first few years, the administrative machinery of the state under the Raja went on smoothly. Certain changes were effected. The state was divided into six FOUJDAREES called TUKADIS corresponding to modern districts. The foujdars, the district officers were assisted by revenue officials. The Tukadis were divided into taluks. Village was the lowest unit of administration. The Dewan continued to be the official head, the highest officer in the state. He was in charge of general progress and collection of revenue. He heard the administrative complaints and disposed of them. In the field of judiciary, certain changes were effected. The Court set up by Purniah was abolished. Two courts, one civil and the other criminal were established. The judge for criminal cases was called as Hakim and civil judge as Bakshi. The rules, regulations and proceedings in those courts were on the lines of Madras judicial system. A Sadr Court, the high court for appeal, was established, though there was no specific rule that appeals could be carried to the King who was the fountain head of justice. No official had the authority to inflict capital punishment other than that of the King.[2] With the exception of revenue regulations where an order was issued by the Raja in 1817, the revenue system of Purniah more or less continued during Raja's rule. The order related to the various duties of the revenue officers such as statement of yearly accounts of the talukas, repair of Government tanks and aided tanks, protecting cattle from wild animals and realisation of produce regularly.[3] One of the contributory causes for state's economic instability was the introduction

---

[1] Madras to Resident, 3rd June 1814.
Mad. Sec. Proc., pp. 810-854.

---

2. Mad. Pol. Cons., Vol. I, para 15, pp.210.

3. A.R.F., Part II, para 25, p. 58.

of SHARAT system by the Raja.[4] The Sharat system provided for an contract by the Government with the Amildars, according to which a certain amount of revenue was to be realised; and if the collections were less than the amount stipulated, the Amildars were held responsible for the deficiency. The Sharat was considered as a source of income to meet the heavy expenditure such as increase in household establishments, presents to troops and charitable institutions. Added to this, the trade of the state had received a set back due to low price and there was inadequate demand for the state-produced goods as a result of reduction of British troops. It became impossible for the Amildars to realise the stipulated sum. They employed objectional measures such as arbitrary assessment and forced sale of Government grains at prices above the market rates.[5] These measures in later years resulted in agrarian discontentment causing widespread disturbance of violent nature. The discontented and suppressed Poligars took advantage of the agrarian revolt and caused insurrection in many taluks of the state. The revenue of the state was classified under two heads - AYNE and SIVAI JAMA - as in the days of Purniah. The Ayne consisted of all prescribed items of revenue such as Land-revenue, Sayer, excise, forest, Bajebab or miscellaneous taxes.

---

[4] Ibid., para 26, p. 78

[5] Insurrection Committee Report, para 76, p. 36. (Published in 1833).

Sivai Jama consisted of items such as unclaimed property, fines, sale of stray cattle, Nazarana or presents and embezzled money. The noticeable heads of expenditure were subsidy to the company, palace establishments, military personnel, Dewan's office, Muzarai, Adalat and other public works. Next to land revenue Sayer was the most important source of income. It was classified under three general heads: namely BHARAMARG or transit duty on goods passing along the high or cross roads; STALABHARTHY or duty on goods produced or manufactured in towns or other places to be paid previous to production and KHURGPUDY or duty levied on goods at the time of their sale whether by retail or wholesale.[6] The Sayer duties varied from one taluk to another. To collect these duties there were 761 Sayer chowkees or custom houses. The tariff tables called PRAHARA PATTIS exhibiting the rate of duty to be paid on each article were issued by the Sircar and were also displayed in custom houses. But the Government granted Kauls or agreements for entire or partial exemption in certain cases. Similar Kauls were issued by Foujdars and sub-renters to their own men. The consequence was that in course of time the tariff tables were looked upon as waste paper and each custom house had its own local rates which was not authorised or approved by the Government. It became necessary for every trader to purchase the goodwill of custom officer along the road.

---

6. General Memorandum on Mysore, 1861.
Memorandum on Sayer system in Mysore, p.1.

Failure to do so caused inconvenience as he was subjected to loss of time or money or both. Merchants from the neighbouring states were practically debarred from entering the state and the whole trade was monopolised by Sayer contractors.

During the twenty years of his personal rule, the Raja had a number of Dewans and advisers to assist him in the governance of the state such as Bakshi Rama Rao, Siddaraj Urs, Lingaraj and Venkatraj. With the exception of Venkatraj, the other Dewans took advantage of the generosity and lenient attitude of the Raja. They misused their power by appointing their men to the key posts and used the revenue of the state for their own ends. They were corrupt and inefficient and incapable persons to handle the affairs of the state. The Raja did not take appropriate steps to check these evils.

Purniah was succeeded by Rama Rao, a well known Maratha leader who had served as Bakshi in the Mysore cavalry. Rama Rao was a Brahmin of the southern Maratha region. He went to Mysore during the days of Haidar. He had served as commander of cavalry under Haidar and Tipu. He was the Foujdar of Nagar division and later Bakshi of the Sowar cutchery or cavalry. During his Dewanship from 1811-1814, Rama Rao filled the key posts with his relatives and friends. Mention may be made of ANNIGERE and HANGAL families.[7] From 1811-1830 his relatives were in office in the foujdaree of Nagar. They were persons allied to him by blood or marriage such as Sarvottama Rao (whose son was married to Rama Rao's neice). Pampaiah and Krishna Rao (nephews of Rama Rao).[8] Krishna Rao had removed from office twice in 1827 and 1830 on charges of embezzling public money and second time for the alleged inactivity in the execution of his duty; but his influence at Durbar was such that he was reinstated on both occasions.[9] Rama Rao's relations had formed an Brahmanical party at court receiving all support and encouragement from the Dewan. Their crimes were shielded. These men had even taken part in the robbery. Sarvottama Rao one of Bakshi's relative gave witness to prove that his efforts to repress the activity of robbers were frustrated by the encouragement and protection given to him by persons holding key position at Durbar including Bakshi. No new reforms were introduced by him. It was during his tenure of office that there was enormous increase in miscellaneous expenses. The principal cause of the enormous expenses was due to the assumption of power by the Raja. During Purniah's regency the Raja was young. His expenses were controlled and regulated by the Dewan. To maintain prestige and to gain confidence of his relations, he increased their allowances. It is said that Purniah appeared to have kept in obscurity the Raja's relations by paying them inadequately.[10] The Raja when questioned by the Resident, accepted this as true and replied that this also accounted for the general increase in expenditure. As early as 1814 the Resident reported to the Madras government that the financial position of the state was not satisfactory. The Raja admitted that the considerable defalcation in revenue has occurred.[11] But he added that the decrease in revenue was more due to unfavourable seasons. Rains had failed.[12] Further, the Raja pleaded that Purniah had fled the country and when he assumed charge the whole weight of the evil fell on him and he was obliged to collect large sums of money to compensate the victims. While the Raja pleaded that the failure of crops as well as maladministration of the officials caused the decrease in the revenue, the Resident charged him for the appointments of corrupt and inefficient officer in the revenue administration. The Resident remarked that the system of Amildari was particularly faulty. Under Purniah the Amildaris were administered by persons who had worked as Sheristedars in the revenue line. The practice underwent a change during 1811-1812 when undeserving subordinates were elevated to such posts. "Under Raja", the Resident remarked, "ability and experience were discounted and bribery and favouritism were the means of getting employment. There was fraud in the accounts of taluks and consequent difficulties in the detection of fraud by all examination of accounts".[13] Under the said circumstances, salaries could not be paid regularly to various civil and military establishments. Dewan Rama Rao was incapable of handling the situation in these circumstances. To check these evils, the Resident suggested certain measures. In the meanwhile, the supreme Government at Calcutta issued new instruction on the affairs of Mysore. On 3rd June, 1814 the Madras Government conveyed it to the Resident. The new order drew a distinction between the role of the company during the Raja's minority and after. During his minority, the Regent was supervised by the company on behalf of the Raja. "As this relation is being ceased", the instruction runs, "the right of interference is to be exercised in the more delicate form of counsel."[14] "You will abstain" the Resident was informed "from the subjects of Mysore and from the avowed support of the cause of those whose grievances may become known to you. You will endeavour to guide the Raja by means of advise and adminition delivered in a private conciliatory form to remedy the evils which the misconduct of his officers and his weakness have produced and you will apply yourself with unremitting diligence to recover his lost confidence."[15]

---

[7] Insurrection Committee, para 32, p. 19.

[8] Ibid., para 33, p. 19.

[9] Ibid.

---

[10] Resident to Madras, 10th Feb., 1814. M.S.P., Vol.XXI.

[11] Raha to Elliot, Government of Madras. Mad-country correspondence, Vol. 8269, p.5. Letter No.4.

[12] Resident to Madras, 8th Dec., 1814. Mad.Sec.Proc., 21st February, 1815, para 12, p.395.

---

[13] Same to Same - Mad. Sec.Proc. 4th March, 1814.

[14] Madras to Resident, 3rd June, 1814, Mad. Sec. Proc., para 13, pp.855-58.

These instructions form an important step in the relation between the Raja and company's Government. It reveals the attitude of the company when the Raja personally started his rule. Instead of loosening its control and influence, it ought to have tightened them. For Purniah was an experienced administrator and his prosperity solely rested on the goodwill of the company. As such he was administrating on the lines of company's wishes. More than all, Purniah's remuneration was in the nature of commission on the net revenue. The Raja on the contrary was an inexperienced youth who was led by evil advisers. In these circumstances, the advice and suggestion of the Resident was of utmost importance. But he was directed to abstrain except for rate and friendly advice. Naturally this gave the Raja and his evil advisers a free hand. At the Resident's request and on his statements, that the Raja was slack in implementing the suggestions, General Abercombey, the acting Governor of Madras warned the Raja to establish an efficient administration. Further, he made it known to the Raja the consequences of the fourth article of the treaty of Srirangapatna.[16] The Raja assured the

---

[15] Ibid.

[16] Abercombey, acting governor to Raja, 30th August, 1814.

Resident a scheme of reduction in each department as a measure of economy. He further assured to overcome all the shortcomings in administration.[17] The statement of the Raja is a clear proof to show that he admitted the fault in his personal rule. The relations between the Raja and Rama Rao was not satisfactory. It appears that he resigned in 1814 as the Raja administered the state till 1818 without the assistance of a Dewan. During his Dewanship, the alienation of revenue and grants in money amounted to 2,37,893 Kanteroi pagodas, showing a decrease in the revenue. The Resident brought to the notice of the Raja the condition of his finances with a view to minimise the personal expenditure. From 1818-20 Siddaraj was the Dewan.[18] The noteworthy feature of Siddaraj's Dewanship was the reduction of expenditure in the various department and cutcheries of the state. But his measures did not materialise fully due to the influence of certain favourites of the Raja. One such was Shamaiyya who was a Shanbhog. He is said to have interfered with all the departments. Siddaraj was succeeded by Baburao in 1820. He had worked as Sheristedar. In 1821 Lingaraj a relative of the Raja was appointed as the Dewan. He was considered as an able officer. But the position did not improve inspite of him. The favourites of the Raja took an opportunity to take undue advantage of the mildness of

---

17. Mad. country correspondence, Vol.5, para 4, pp.95-102.

18. Resident to Madras, 8-12-1814, Mad.Sec.Proc., 21-2-1815, p. 378.

19. Resident to Madras, 20-6-1825, Mad.Sec.Proc.,pp.289-90.

Lingaraj. Narasinghrao, a Bakshi of the Motikhana cutchery was one such individual. It may be noted that between 1811-25, there were four dewans which shows the instability in the administration. In June, 1825, the mismanagement of finances appeared to have reached the climax. There were disturbances in the Nagar division against the corruption by certain officers. The reports of the Resident on the finances of the state to Munro Governor of Madras led to his visit to Mysore in 1825. His visit as observed by him "was to ascertain the real state of Raja's affairs and personally confer with the Raja so as to prevail upon him to adopt such measures as may be calculated to establish order in his affairs."[20] Learning Munro's visit to Mysore, it is stated that the Raja prepared an abstract of the arrears due to every department - civil and military.[21] In the meeting that took place between the Raja and the Governor, on 19th September, 1825, the latter referred to the circumstances which had prevailed on the British to restore the ancient dynasty of Wodeyars. He brought to the notice of the Raja, that the most essential thing was the adjustment of expenditure to income and to make provision for all unforeseen events such as war or famine.[22] Further he advised the Raja to pay the subsidy regularly and to keep the troops and other establishments efficient, by regular payment. Munro

---

20. Alexander Arbuthnot - Selections from Minutes and other official writings of Sir Thomas Munro, Vol. II, p.75, dated 23-8-1825.
21. Ibid., para 2, p. 76, also see M.S.P., Vol.IV,pp.9-10.
22. Ibid., para 4, p. 78, see also M.S.P., para 12.

observed "that it was the desire of the company to avoid interference as much as possible. But if the things were to go wrong, there would be the danger of the treaty. The best way to prevent the company's interference was by submission of annual receipts and disbursements." It is to be noted that Munro who was opposed to the restoration of the ancient dynasty alerted the Raja by appraising him of his position and duties. His suggestions to the Raja was to reduce the expenditure, to collect the revenue balance gradually and to keep in reserve a moderate amount as funds in order to meet the contingencies like war and bad seasons, to pay the establishments regularly and to furnish the statement of revenue and expenditure in the forms furnished by the Resident. Munro's advise to the Raja was the first serious attempt of the company to check the mismanagement of finances in Mysore. It resulted in the introduction of certain reforms. Most of the personal expenses of the Raja was reduced and the arrears to the various establishments were paid. As early as 1826, Munro wrote, "I have been extremely gratified by the information which Your Highness furnished to the Resident Casamaijor for the purpose of being communicated to me relative to the measures which are in progress. I entirely approve the form which Your Highness has adopted."[23] The Resident also wrote, "that the Raja is applying all the measures and arrears to a greater extent has been paid. The HUKUMNAMA has been issued to local authorities to send a monthly periodical accounts to the HUZUR."[24] After the removal of Lingaraj probably in 1822, the Raja administered the state without the assistance of Dewan as he felt that it would enable him to keep away the evil advisers and relations. However in the absence of Dewan he found it difficult to carry on the administration. On the advice of the Resident, Venkataraj was appointed as the Dewan in 1827. The new Dewan had the rich experience as he had served the state in various capacities. He was AMILDAR in Sira, and FOUJDAR of Bangalore and Nagar division till 1825 when ill-health forced him to resign. As Chief Foujdar of Nagar, he had introduced many regulations. The Foujdaree of Nagar had been the most troublesome area since the days of Ramarao. The riots had organised in a confederacy against the bad officials. It may be noted that this was the region where the insurrection was at its heights in later years. The insurrection committee state that according to many witnesses (such as Viraraj, Foujdar of Nagar, Sibayya, Sheristedar of Dewan Katcheri and Srinivasa Rao, regimentdar) much fraud had been practised by the revenue officials in the remissions made by Bakshi Rama Rao. The balances had been written off on the pretext of insolvency of persons who were well to do. It is possible that some of Rama Rao's remissions were improper particularly in Nagar

---

[23] Munro to the Raja, Mad. Country Correspondence, 1826, pp.19-21.

---

[24] Resident to Madras, 28th Dec., 1825, Mad. Sec. Proc., p. 21.

Foujdaree where many of the officers were his relatives.[25]

The appointment of Venkataraj as Dewan was appreciated by the Resident. He remarked, "I am happy to announce the appointment of Venkataraj as Dewan and I believe the Government of Mysore had at no time had a Dewan more popular, indefatigable or more competent from a knowledge of the revenue sources to conduct the administration."[26] Dewan Venkataraj instituted an enquiry into all the outstanding balances of revenue. He separated those cases which were capable of early realisation from those of doubtful claims. The former was collected by periodical instalments and the latter by immediate decision.[27] He emphasised that the accounts were to be annually audited and revised. The Dewan constituted a VARADABUNDEE (weekly remittance of accounts) and monthly remittance of collections to the treasury by each foujdar. With this the revenue of the taluks was regular. The irregular payments to the departments were also prevented. The abolition of SHIRTEE MUCHCHALIKA which was for many years detrimental to the revenue interests was another unique reform of Venkataraj. There was some difficulty in realising the amount from the Shirtee Muchchalika Amildars or their secretaries. Because they were

---

25. Insurrection Committee Report, para 47, p.48.

26. Resident to David Hill, Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort, St.George, Mad. Pol. Cons., Vol.2, 1832, dt.8-1-1832, para 2, p. 242.

27. Ibid., para 4, pp.244-45.

generally persons of influence at the Huzur. The amildars resided at Mysore and not in their taluks. The collection of revenue was entrusted to Sheristedars, and to their relations and representatives of amildars. As a result the ryots were often oppressed with the high handed action of the revenue officers. Their complaints were not redressed and often not entertained.

The efficient amildars,~~was~~ reluctant to enter into this system,had retired from their amildarees and were succeeded by a class of persons of inferior talent and character.[28] The Dewan dismissed such inefficient amildars and appointed men of integrity and efficiency. Further they were required to reside at KASABAH (headquarters) of their taluka. The judicial and vigilant attention of the Dewan in enforcing these rules introduced order and regularity in the revenue department and other sectors. The Dewan further adopted a scheme of reduction in the pay and scale of the establishments as a measure of economy. It was well known fact that unless the Raja individually examined cases of retrenchment and reductions, the Dewan had to yield to the pressure of interested persons in the court of the Raja. In view of this the Dewan declined to make any retrenchments without the sanction of the Raja. It was on account of this, the Resident reminded the Raja of his promises to MUNRO and warned him the bad impression that the British Government had to form if he further delayed the fulfilment of his promises. Further he pointed out to the Raja that without systematic retrenchment, the expenditure would be more than the income and the arrears of the departments could only be cleared by retrenchments. The Raja approved certain retrenchments. No doubt this caused a great discontentment as most of the retrenchees were pensioners. The Raja anticipated that they would lodge complaints with the Resident. He warned him that his interference in the matter after the royal approval was given would discredit the Raja's authority. With a view to protect the right of the pensioners, the Resident requested the Raja to continue the pensions of those persons who belonged to Purniah's regime and to withdraw those which were granted by him. Accordingly the sons of the deceased pensioners were allowed to draw half the pension of their fathers and those capable of service were continued.[29]

---

[28] Ibid., para 7, p. 251.

One more branch of expenditure where economy could have been effected was in Raja's personal expenses. Repeatedly the Resident had brought to his notice the promises of his in this regard when Munro had paid a visit to Mysore. The Resident wrote that "his improvidence and lavish habits of expenses have been so long conspicuous that I can express no confidence in his having abandoned so suddenly confirmed habits of extravagance."[30] The Resident urged the Raja to cut down the expenditure in respect of endowments in the form of land and money so that he would be able to introduce regularity and economy in his finances. When the Raja was advised by the Dewan and the Resident to resume the gifts that had been chiefly made to persons receiving pay, he rejected the advice stating that it would be derogatory to his character and authority to withdraw what had been given by Sannad.[31] It may be said here that the Raja was bound by certain customs and traditions of religious nature. As such what had been granted in the form of Sannad or grant could not be withdrawn. The total amount spent for Muzurai or gifts in land and money to pagodas, religious priests, Brahmins and other religious observances had enormously increased since the time of Purniah. The Resident suggested to the Madras Government that the Raja should be warned that the endowments were disproportionate to his means. He recommended that many of them should be withdrawn. He felt that it would be unreasonable to expect that these grants should be recognised hereafter by the Government as gifts in perpetuity to those at present holding them.[32] Though the reorganisation of the finances of the Mysore state and the progress achieved thereby since the appointment of Venkataraj showed great signs of improvement, certain natural impediments hampered its progress.

---

[29] *Ibid*., para 10, p. 258.

[30] *Ibid*., para 11, p. 258.

---

[31] Ibid., para 21, pp. 270-71.

[32] Ibid., para 20, p.269.

STATEMENT No. 3

*Abstract of Total Enamtee of the Mysore Sircar giving the phenominal increase from 1811-1827

Sannads	Enams during Purniah's time 1810 to 1811 CP F a	Increase of Enams by 1811 CP f a	Total amount of Enams in 1827 CP f a
Enamtee or grants to Pagodas such as Matas, Brahmins and village servants	121,951-9-4¾	9,422-7-1½	131,374-6-6¼
Sarvamanya or grants to Pagodas, Brahmins, Rayabandees and Huzur public servants	15,318-9-11	44,237-2-12	59,556-2-7
Shanraj Zuggor Grant to the natural son of His ~~xxxxxf~~ Highness a minor	...	...	48,854-8-5
In cash Mugrai Khurch (expense) or grants to Pagodas and Brahmins	47,495-4-15	65,884-5-6½	113,380-0-0

---

* Resident to Chief Secretary dated 8th January, 1828

The year 1827-28 appears to have been very unfavourable. The rains failed. All the taluks throughout the state experienced draught except in the Foujdaree of Nagar. The Resident wrote, "that the dry crops such as Ragee and grains have completely failed from want of seasonable rain, that the ryots have turned their cattle to the field to graze; a more unfavourable year than the present has seldom been witnessed in Mysore.[33] The situation was still worst during the first half of 1828. There was an outbreak of cholera followed by the season favoured well and there was good promise of an abundant harvest.[34] Along with this further retrenchments were made as a measure of economy. Only the debts of the Raja could not be cleared. Except the reductions in the personal expenses of the Raja and the liquidation of his debts, the reforms of Venkataraj no doubt were of far reaching importance. The Dewan was helpless to place any limit on the Raja's personal expenses which encroached on the funds nominally set aside for more specific purposes. Still, the Resident wrote "Venkataraj has succeeded in levying from the taluks the regular payment of periodical kists; disbursements are judiciously superintended and accounts audited, great part of the outstanding revenue balance has been recovered."[35] In the year 1829, the

---

[33] The Resident to Governor, Fort St.George; Mad.Pol.Cons., Vol.2, 1831, dated 8-1-1828, p. 252.

[34] Ibid., letter No.9 dt.16-11-1828, para 5, p.282.

[35] Resident to Madras, 16-11-1828, para 10, pp.290-91.

Resident reporting the steps undertaken by the Dewan and his subordinate officers in respect of the collection of revenue expressed his satisfaction of the progress that was achieved in the finance of the state. Though the Raja had cut down much of his personal expenses, the Resident felt the need of further reduction especially under the head of DHARMA KARCH (charitable expenses).[36] He admitted a decrease in this expenditure since 1828 in the form of ready money donation and additional grants to land. Still he felt the necessity of warning to the Raja by the Madras Government informing him that such grants would not be recognised in future and to advise him not to make such grants without the sanction of the British Government.[37] The only apprehension in the year 1829 regarding the finances of the Mysore State was the debts of the Raja. Writing on this regard the Resident reported that though the old debts have paid and balances have been removed, large supplies have been raised by His Highness for which no account is available and on appraising this matter to Highness, the Raja considered it as a private affair and not matters of deliberation for the company.[38] Perhaps it was the misfortune of the Government of Mysore that these reforms and improvements received a set back in the beginning of 1830 on account of the outbreak of insurrection.

---

[36] Resident to Madras, 28-11-1829, Mad. Pol.Cons., Vol.2, 1831, para 8, p.301.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., para 12 and 13, pp.307-308.

The insurrection - an organised form of revolt was the outburst of dissatisfaction among the ryots of northern taluks of Mysore, such as, SHIMOGA, HOLEHONNUR, HONNALI, TAIKERE, AJJAMPUR, RODGENNY, BASAVAPATNA, WASTARAH, CHICKAMANGALUR, HIRIYUR, YAGATY AND KADUR - all in the Nagar division of the state. The Resident reported that the dissatisfaction was due to undecided and dilatory manner in which the Raja dealt with the complaints of the ryots and by continuing foujdars and amildars who were oppressive.[39] Similar complaints had existed even before the insurrection of 1830. But in the year 1830 the ryots could no longer bear the high handedness of the officials. They offered the resistance to the Government of Mysore by causing disturbance and insubordination culminating in the form of insurrection. They refused to pay their usual kists (taxes) and even compelled the amildars to restore money fraudulently obtained.[40] The Raja who was alarmed at such provocations by the subjects of these taluks deputed the Dewan with powers to make enquiries, decide specific problems on spots, remove officers of corrupt nature and punish them for abuses. A contingent of one thousand soldiers of the Raja's infantry and Silledar horse was sent with the Dewan to deal with the situation. With these measures, the insurrection was put down. As a further step to check insurbordination, the Resident took precautionary measures by keeping company's troops ready. Further he advised the Raja to conduct a personal tour in such taluks with a view to restore confidence among people and redress their grievances.[41] Accordingly, the Raja toured the area of insurrection. The dissatisfaction had widespread by this time. The head patels of the taluks congregated in bodies called COOTUM (assemblage) with two or three thousand ryots in each and persecuted those who were unwilling to join them.[41 a] Every possible method was resorted to by the Raja to conciliate them by general amnesty and investigation. Still there occured instances of disorder and trouble such as detaining the TAPPAL (mail) destroying Raja's Nirups (orders), placing the amildars under restraint, seizing Sircar treasuries and manhandling merchants and travellers.[42] They caused apprehension in the minds of the public about the security of life and property. The Raja was convinced of making a personal enquiry regarding the complaints of the ryots in the taluks of KIKKERI, CHENNARAYAPATNA, GRAMUM, NARSIPUR, HONNAVALLY, NUGGEHALLI, TURUVKERE, GUBBI, TUMKUR, BANAVARA and HIREHALLI. The officials who had indulged in corruption and high handedness in oppressing the ryots were punished. Proclamations were issued to the headmen of each COOTUM to give up their seditious activities. Where the insurgents refused to comply with orders of Raja and

---

[39] Resident to Rechard Clive, acting chief secretary to the Government of Madras, Fort St.George, dated 6-12-1830, Mad. Pol.Cons.,Vol.2, 1831, letter No. 11, para 1, p.310.

[40] Ibid., para 2, page 311.

---

41. Ibid., Letter No.12, dt. 2-1-1831, p. 315.

41a. Ibid., p. 316

42. Ibid., p. 317

continued to resist the authority, the troops were ordered to fire. In the taluks of Chitradurg, Kadur, Egatee, Holehonnur, Seralkoppa, Tumkur and Nidagul, the troops of the Raja and the insurgents came in collision resulting in the death of a number of culprits. The leaders of the insurrection were placed under restraint and fifteen executions were carried.[43] With these measures, the spirit of the insurrection was destroyed. Except insome taluks of Nagar, there prevailed comparative peace. The collections of revenue were resumed.[44] Though the expression of insubordination and disturbances against the Sircar were not common in Mysore, the disaffection had prevailed even during Purniah's time. Even though the insurrection was put down and normalcy was restored, the Resident did not repose confidence in Raja as his personal debts had enormously increased by 1831. No doubt, this was admitted by the Raja himself. The Resident pleaded with the Governor for more powers to interfere in Raja's matters so as to secure confidence to the British Government in the affairs of the Mysore state. This step was considered by the Resident as a proper measure to prevent the misrule of Raja which would otherwise lead assumption of power by the company. The resident further requested the Governor of Madras to inform the Raja of the spirit of the treaty and make it clear to him that he cannot be permitted to alienate his resources by Sannad. Further he suggested that all such jagirs should be resumed in order to prevent financial calamity.[45] He wrote:

---

[43] Ibid., p. 318

[44] Ibid., p. 319

> "The instability and infirmities of his character, my daily experience, his total disregard for truth, his adoption of bad companions, bad advisers and above all his procrastination and delay in supporting the measures of his Dewan and a habit of allowing his favourities to influence his own sound judgement and in consequence his best decision are often revoked by the interested views of others."[46]

On the repeated requests of the Resident to warn the Raja, the Governor of Madras, S.R.Lushington addressed a letter to him. He wrote: "Nothing but immediate change of system could save the Government of Mysore from certain ruins." He pointed out the Raja's expenditure. Further the Governor drew his attention to the evils such as irregular payment to the troops and other establishments, alienation of lands, grants of previleges to Sowcars, and corruption and bribery among revenue servants. The Governor finally warned the Raja that to prevent such evils, the Resident had been given discretionary authority to seek information from the taluks and to examine the taluk record wherever he wished.[47] Meanwhile the insurrection broke out afreish in the Nagar division in 1831. The ryots from almost every district in the Nagar division confederated with Paleyagars against the Government of Mysore. The Paleyagars had occupied certain forts in the Nagar foujdaree and made attacks on unarmed villagers and committed great crimes.[48] Rangappa Naik, head of Tarikere Paleyagar's family was the most important leader of the insurrection.[49] He had lived in Mysore on a small pension from the Government and had suddenly left the place with his son Hanumappa Naik to join the main body of the Nuggur insurgents. Taking advantage of the disaffection of the ryots against the Government, Rangappa Naik promised remission of revenue and happy state of affairs. The ryots naturally rallied round him, and reciprocally solicited their aid to throw away the Mysore yoke (Raja's authority).[50] On receipt of the information, the troops of the Raja were mobilised. The _Fouzdar_ of Nagar, Annappa was invested with civil and military authority in the Nagar District to deal with the insurgents suitably. At Kamandurg, Kulladurg, Wastarah and Shikaripur the insurgents were defeated.[51] At Shikaripur the Raja's troops consisting of 300 infantry and 300 _Silledars_ and commanded by Annappa were attacked by 2000 insurgents headed by Budi Basavappa who called himself as Nuggur poligar and pretender.[52] The insurrection committee reports that Budi Basavappa whose real name was Sadarmalla hailing from the taluk of COOMSEE was a notorious robber and ex-convict.[53] Budi Basavappa's gang suffered a complete defeat at the hands of Annappa with a loss of one hundred killed. But the success achieved by the Mysore troops was of little consequence. While the conflict between the Raja's force and insurgents were progressing, the Resident felt the need of employing subsidiary troops. With Raja's concurrence he deputed captain Rochfort to put down the rebels. Nearly 97 persons were executed on 16th March, 1831 under direct orders of Rochfort.[54] The tranquility was restored in most of the taluks of Nagar division.[55] Though many paleyagars and leading insurgents were subdued, the disaffected subjects who had hitherto aided them rose in confederation to resist the authority of the Raja's Government.[56] The disaffection was most active in the jungles of northern taluks of Mysore namely, Chadragooty, Sorabah, Ananthapur, Annvatty, Lakkavalli, Cowlydoorg and Koppa where infantry could alone act.[57] The Resident was afraid of its rapid spread in southern and western taluks of Chickamangalur, Belur, Sakkarapatna, Munzerabad and Maharajanadurg. He was convinced of the necessity of employing the full subsidiary force of Mysore immediately to quell the rebellion.[58] On the receipt of information from the Resident regarding the insurrection, the Governor of Madras paid a personal visit to Mysore on 1st May 1831. The Raja convinced the Governor of the inadequacy of the number of Mysore troops and of the advisability of employing the full subsidiary force. It was then settled that more subsidiary force should be used and the Resident and the Dewan should proceed to Nagar. The Dewan was invested with full powers to grant cowls (agreements) to establish peace in the Nagar Foujadaree. With these measures order was restored by the middle of July, 1831. The Resident informed that further contingent of subsidiary force would not be required. The Paleyagars and their adherents fled to the country of Nizam. The insurrection was mostly quelled. The effects of the insurrection on the personality of the Raja and Government of Mysore were very bad. Due to insurrection the revenue collection was disrupted. As a result the various establishments were in arrears. The debts of the Raja could not be cleared. The Resident reported that the insurrection in northern and western taluks of Mysore had caused suspension of SARCAR receipts to the extent of 6,80,291 K. pagodas.

---

[45] Resident to Governor of Madras, Mad.Pol.Cons., Vol.2, 1831, para 7, p. 334.

[46] Ibid., para 10, p.338

[47] Governor of Madras to the Raja of Mysore, dt.15-2-1831,

---

[48] Resident to Governor of Madras, dt.8-3-1831, Mad.Pol. Cons., Vol. 3, para 2, p.569.

[49] Insurrection Committee, 1833, para 75, p. 36.

[50] Ibid., para 79.

[51] Resident to Madras, Mad.Pol.Cons., Vol.3, pp.570-71.

[52] _Ibid._, para 4, pp. 570-71.

[53] Insurrection Committee, 1833, paras 52 & 53, pp.28-29.

---

[54] Memoirs of John Briggs, p. 148.

[55] Resident to Mad., 19-4-1831, Mad.Pol.Cons.,Vol.3, 1831, Letter No.14, para 2, p.838.

[56] Ibid., Mad.Pol.Cons., Vol.3, 1831, Letter No.15, para 1, p. 851.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid., para 2, p.852.

With a view to improve the finances of the Government, the Resident urged the Raja to place immediately all his private resources at the services of the State. He warned him that his failure to do this would cause anarchy and discontent. The Raja on the contrary pleaded that the insurrection was solely responsible for all the misfortunes. Meanwhile the supreme Government had directed S.R.Lushington, Governor of Madras, to pay a visit to Mysore to make personal observations on Mysore affairs and to report on the position. Accordingly the Governor who visited Mysore recorded his observations in a letter to the Governor-General. He observed "that there has been for a long time great disorder in the financial department of the administration and that the people had been driven to revolt by misrule and oppression." He considered that the only course was to enforce the article of the treaty permitting the assumption of the Government of Mysore.[59] Before the minutes could reach the supreme Government, the Governor-General considering Lushington's letter dated 4th July, 1831, preferred to take the administration of Mysore. In his letter dated 7th September, 1831, the Governor-General Bentinck communicated his decision to the Raja, about the assumption of Mysore.[60] The assumption was given effect to by the proclamation issued by the Governor-General-in-Council on 21st October, 1831. With this the Raja's twenty years of personal rule was ended.

Soon after the assumption, Bentinck appointed a committee, popularly known as "Insurrection Committee", to enquire into the origin, progress, suppression and consequences of the insurrection in Mysore. The committee was comprised of four European officers, namely Major General Thomas Hawker, W.Morrison, T.M.Macleod, and Lt.Col.Cubbon. It began its sittings in January 1833 and submitted its report to the

---

[59] Minutes of Lushington, Governor of Madras, 27-9-1831, No. 6, pp. 515, 537, Mad. Sec. Proc., 1831.

[60] Bentinck to Raja dated 7th April, 1831, General Memorandum, Bangalore, 1831.

Government in December. The Committee probed into Purniah's administration, rule of Raja, the insurrection, its causes and its conclusions. In the Mysore administration report 1872-73 para 37, Rice's Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. 1, p. 428 and Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol.xvii, p.184, it is stated that the Governor-General resolved to assume the administration on the report of the Insurrection Committee. This is a wrong statement as the report was submitted in 1833 that is two years after the assumption of power. The members of the committee were purely European in character and cannot be accepted as an impartial and true report on the affairs of Mysore. However the report forms an important political document throwing light on the affairs of Mysore. The assumption of the administration of Mysore by the company was based on the following causes as indicated in Bentinck letter to the Raja.[61] They were: the subsidy due to the British Government had not been paid monthly; the collection of the revenue had failed through the choice of the improper and incapable officers, villagers and public lands had been alienated not as reward for public services but granted to favourites and money lenders; State officers of all descriptions had been sold and previleges of exclusive trade had been made over to greedy adventurers; immense debt had been incurred by the Raja and finances of the state had been ruined; the Raja was indifferent and negligent to such remonstrances and advices given by the British officials such as Thomas Munro, Lushington and Resident and finally as a result of corruption, tyranny and oppression, the inhabitants rose in revolt and thereby caused insurrection.

---

[61] Ibid., pp. 6-11

Taking into consideration the question of subsidy, the Raja was bound by the Subsidiary Treaty of Srirangapatna to pay a sum of seven lakhs of star pagodas annually in monthly instalments. The fourth article of the treaty had empowered the company to assume the administration of Mysore for the non-payment of Subsidy.[62] It is true that the subsidy was never in arrears as monthly receipts and evidence of Accountant General bears testimony to the fact.[63] It is possible that the subsidy might have been delayed, but it never warranted intervention for assumption. In 1834 Bentinck confirmed that the subsidy does not appear to have been in immediate jeopardy and observed that the assumption was actually made on account of Raja's misgovernment.[64] Further it is also clearly pointed out in the Raja's letter to the Governor of Madras dated 5th Nov. 1831 that the subsidy was paid regularly.[65] The enforcement of the 4th article of the treaty was intended only in the failure of the payment of subsidy. In fact the doubts of this article was predicted by Col. Aurther Wellesley who negotiated the treaty in 1799 with representatives of the Raja of Mysore. Col. Aurther Wellesley warned his brother to make provision against the possibility of such a break of failure. He remarked:

---

[62] C.U.Aitchinson - A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sannads, Vol.IX, pp. 240-45.

[63] Accountant General of Madras to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, 28-9-1831.

[64] Bentinck to the Secret Committee of the Directors, 14-4-1834.

[65] Raja to Lushington, Governor of Madras, 5th Nov.1831, Mad.Pol.Cons., Vol.8, 1831, pp.2284-85.

> "Col.Kirkpatrick will have written to you yesterday respecting the IV article of the treaty. We all agreed that, this ought to be modified in some manner. As it now stands it will give ground for the belief that we give the Raja the country at the present moment with the intention of taking it away again, when it will suit our convenience. Supporting that the candid and generous policy of the present Government should weaken the belief as far as it regards them, it must be allowed that the conduct of the British Government in India has not at all times been such as to induce the natives to believe that at one time or the other improper advantage will not be taken of that article. They know as well as we do that there may be a change of Government immediately and that there certainly will be one in the course of few years and the person then appointed as Governor-General may not have such enlarged system of policy as those by which we are regulating at the present moment. This induces me to believe, that they will object strongly to that article and I don't think that it will be creditable to us to insist upon it."[66]

As foreseen by Col.Aurther Wellesley, the fourth article was enforced and improper advantage was taken of the prevailing situation in 1831 leading to the deposition of the Raja and the assumption of administration of Mysore.

With regard to fall in revenue, the Insurrection Committee remarked "We do not however think that the decline of the revenue since the time Purniah had been caused entirely due to misgovernment of the Raja. It appears to us to be partly attributable to causes which were beyond the control of Raja's government.[67] The fall in revenue was due to the failure of rains.[68] The rains failed in 1812-14, 1823-24, and in 1827-28. Besides failure of rains there was no demand for the goods due to fall in prices in the neighbouring parts partly due to the reduction of British troops.[69] The revenue also decreased due to corrupt officials of the Raja as referred eerlier. Regarding alienation of lands and endowments by the Raja as ~~only~~ early as 4th September, 1799, Governor-General observed in his letter to the Resident that he must keep a check on this.[70] From 1823 to 1830, the Resident sent alarming report to the Madras Government about Raja's lavish gifts and endowments. By the visit of Sir Thomas Munro in 1825 this was to a greater extent had been reduced. In a letter to Bentinck the Raja stated that "some expenses which was unnecessary during his minority had become indispensable, when he took charge of administration. For: Repairs were required to temples built in the days of his ancestors, charity, supporting of his relations, marriages and presents to troops.[71] However the Raja as sovereign of the state could not keep himself strictly to the instructions of the Resident in this regard as these were the things which were in usage for a long time. Reduction or suspension or abolition of such grants not only evoked fury among people but also caused great insult to their religious beliefs. No doubt the Raja did his best to minimise the expenses in this branch. Beyond that, it was not possible.

---

[66] 66. Wellington's Supplementary Despatches, Vol. I, p.244. (Letter written before the treaty was concluded).

---

[67] Report on the Insurrection Committee, para 184.

[68] Resident to Madras, 10-2-1814, Mad.Pol.Cons., para 55, 4-3-1814, p. 586; 15th Jan. 1824, Mad.Pol.Cons. 1824, No.50, p. 1543; 8th Jan.1828, Mad.Pol.Cons., Vol. 2, 1831, para 7, p. 241.

[69] Insurrection Committee, para 186.

[70] William Kirkpatrick - Private Secretary to Governor-General to the Resident Barry Colse, 4-9-1799, M.S.P., Vol. II, pp. 272-85.

The company was empowered by article XIV of the Subsidiary Treaty to render its advise in any matters concerned with the Raja's Government such as economy of finances, better collection of revenue, administration of justice and etc. And the Raja was bound to accept any regulations and ordinances imposed by the company. But not such advice was given to the Raja when he badly needed. On the other hand as remarked by Evans Bell, the company's Resident confined to desolatory rebukes and remonstrances. Moreover if the Raja had failed to comply with the orders, the company had the right to take over the administration even earlier. Far from the obligations of the article, it stands on record that in 1814, the Resident was instructed not to receive complaints and to guide the Raja by advice given in a conciliatory manner.

It may be remarked that Purniah was an experienced administrator and the Raja was an inexperienced youth accessible to temptations and evil counsels because of his age. His youth, inexperience and generosity was taken advantage by the corrupt officials. At such circumstances it was the avowed duty of the company as a protective power to advice ahd intervene at least in the first few years of Raja's administration.

One of the strong grounds for the assumption of administration as stated by Nentinck was that "inspite of remonstrances of the Governor of Madras and Resident it does not appear that the least attention has been paid to their remonstrances or advice." This statement of Bentinck is subjected to criticism. For the reforms or suggestion effected by the Raja on Munro's visit in 1825 was appreciated by Munro himself.[72] The insurrection which paved the way for the assumption was not peculiar during Raja's period. Even during the time of Purniah there were disaffection in certain parts of Munzuabad. For Purniah wrote "that the troops of Raja's circar are stationed in different places in Munzarbad foujadari where apprehensions of disturbances are entertained."[73] The disaffection manifested in Mysore in 1831 in the form of insurrection cannot be attributed solely to the misrule of the Raja. Commenting on this, the Insurrenction Committee remarked:

> "We doubts whether the disturbances would have broken out when they did but for the prevalance of the belief to which we have already adverted, of his (Raja) not being supported by the employment of British troops (till the insurrection reached its climaxe), they would have been speedily quelled had not the family of Tatikere paleyagars joined the revolt and kept them by means of their personal energy and heridity influence and perhaps most of all, the employment of foreigners(to Mysore) of the military

---

[72] Sir Thomas Munro to Raja, 16-5-1826, Mad.Pol.Cons., 1826, No.14, p.19.

[73] Dewan Purniah to Governor of Madras, 13-12-1801, Mad.Pol.Cons., 1801, p.391.

> class, who flocked to their stand and chiefly from the Southern Maratha country for the sake of booty, plunder and of occupation."[74]

Regarding the nature of the country which was inherent in the spirit of insurrection, the Supreme Government has written to the Government of Madras on 15th December, 1806 describing:

> "Mysore is a Kingdom formed by a combination of numerous turbulent principalities and that spirit of the insurrection which must be considered to be inherent in a state so composed, although greatly subsidised is no by means extinguished. Any relaxation therefore of negligence and vigour which have hitherto suppressed their activity (during Purniah's period) would be highly dangerous. Experience has demonstrated the efficacy of the present arrangement (immediate measures during Purniah's period) and it would be highly imprudent to defend for our security on the supposed disposition."[75]

This warning of the supreme Government was neglected by the Madras Government and the insurrection that broken out afforded a pretext in addition to the misrule of the Raja for the assumption of his Government.

Judging from the interpretations of the various articles of the treaty, the assumption was not a solution to the affairs of Mysore that existed in 1831. Of course, there was misrule. The Raja could have been warned after quelling the insurrection. Instead the assumption was made as a prelude to annexation. It appears that this was done

---

74. Insurrection Committee, para 198.

75. Ibid.

deliberately with a view to annex the territory which found its expression fully in Dalhousie's Doctrine of lapse.

4. MYSORE UNDER THE COMMISSIONERS

The assumption of Mysore administration by Bentinck in 1831 marks the end of the second phase in the history of Mysore under Krishnaraja Wodeyar the III. After the assumption, the Governor General objected to govern the state of Mysore through the agency of Dewan. He preferred to administer Mysore through a Board of Commissioners with the assistance of a native agency.[1] The Governor-General required the Commissioners to exercise the general control on all branches of administration.[2] The Board of Commissioners included a senior nominee of the Governor-General and the junior, a nominee of the Madras Government. The Senior Commissioner was empowered with a casting vote to overrule his colleague in matters of difference. The Commissioners were assisted by a Dewan in financial matters. The office of the Resident was continued. He was in charge of political relations of the Raja and his family with the company. Upto June 1832, the Commissioners were subordinate to the Government of Madras and in the same month, they were made responsible for the Government of India. They had to face varied problems at the very outset. Their first task was the restoration of law and order which had been disrupted by insurrection in many parts of the state. Secondly, the insurgents and Poligars were still causing trouble even after the insurrection had

---

1. Minutes of Governor-General on Affairs of Mysore, Mad.Pol.Cons., Vol. 1, 1832, p. 203.

2. Ibid., p. 204

been quelled. The establishments both civil and military had not been paid properly owing to insurrection. Further, they had to dispense with the complaints and petitions lodged against the corrupt officers. The Department of Justice needed a thorough reorganisation as it was filled by persons of corrupt nature. Of the two commissioners, Ltd. Col. Briggs, the Senior, belonged to the Madras Army and had good knowledge in the field of administration. The Junior Commissioner C.M.Lushington was the brother of the Governor of Madras. At the time of his appointment as Commissioner, he was the judge of the Sadar Court at Madras. The Junior Commissioner took over charge in October, 1831. Briggs joined him in December of the same year. The Junior Commissioner after assuming charge appointed one Venkataramiah as Dewan and embarked on certain reforms with a view to minimise the expenditure of the Government of Mysore.[3] Accordingly, he carried out certain reforms. He abolished the regiment of 500 Bargir Sepoys. All grants made to religious institutions were withdrawn to examine the legalities of their origin. He repudiated all pensions of Tipu's relations and old servants of Purniah. About 9,000 influential families were placed in great stringency.[4] By these measures, the Junior Commissioner aimed at economy. But Briggs, who arrived on December 25th, 1831, did not

---

3. C.M.Lushington to Governor of Madras, 25th November, 1831, Mad.Pol.Con., Vol.8, 1831, p. 2400.

4. Memoirs of Briggs, pp. 159-160.

agree with these measures. In many of the districts of Nagar division there prevailed disorder. The collections had not been made fully. The complaints made against officers by the inhabitants had not been properly dispensed with. Within a few days after the arrival of Briggs, the Junior Commissioner went to Madras for a short while. Before his departure he recorded his opinion that the Board of Commissioners were to act the part of Resident with the new Dewan as the actual Executive head of the administration. The Dewan was to be given full powers like Purniah. He was however to submit himself to the supervision of the Commissioners. Briggs did not agree with the views of his colleague. He declared that the Board of Commissioners was appointed to represent the Raja and it should be both an executive and deliberative body possessing supreme authority and responsibility and the Dewan was to be only a subordinate and ministerial officer. He recommended three measures to establish an orderly administration.[5] Resotration of law and order, a general amnesty and act of oblivion and a careful scrutiny and revision of administrative personnel without which he was convinced that every plan of redress and reform would be fruitless and of no effect. The measures recommended by him was not approved by the Government of Madras. The Government of Madras upheld all the views of C.M.Lushington. Besides, Briggs was forbidden to interfere with the Dewan's administration or with any of his appointments.

---

[5] Ibid.

Further all plans proposed by Briggs for reorganisation of the administration in Mysore was rejected by the Government of Madras. On 23rd February, 1832, Briggs sent an appeal to the Supreme Government against the harsh and the humiliating treatment meted out to him by the Governor of Madras.[6] Accepting the views of Briggs, the Governor-General advised him to adhere to the ~~instructions~~ Reforms of Purniah and to avoid any innovations.[7] Further, in a despatch dated 23rd February, 1832, the Governor upheld the independence of the Dewan and instructed Briggs to wait for the opinion of the newly appointed Junior Commissioner in place of C.M.Lushington regarding his measures in the administrative field. The new Junior Commissioner was G.D.Drury. A despatch from St. George dated 19th March, 1832 issued directions to the Commissioners that in the event of difference of opinion between them, they were to record their opinion separately for the consideration of Madras Government. This direction was carried out for some time. But, J.M.Macleod the successor of Drury, a Madras Civilian was opposed to the measure proposed by Briggs. There was no harmony between them. Briggs could not tolerate the humiliating position under the Governor of Madras. Further the Governor of Madras and the Governor-General placed severe restrictions on him. This naturally led to the resignation of Briggs on June 23rd, 1832.

---

[6] Ibid., p. 66

[7] Ibid., p. 174

While tendering his resignation, he recorded his opinion regarding the relationship that existed between him and the Dewan.

> "In the enjoyment and confidence of Madras Government and of the Resident, in the full exercise of power which I am forbidden to interfere with all public servants of State from Foujidar of a District to a messenger of an office, looking up to him for subsistence and promotion, the Dewan keeps up an active system of an espionage and maintains an extensive secret correspondence."[8]

The differance of opinion and the animosity between the Senior Commissioner and the Governor of Madras can be very well seen in the letter of the Governor of Madras to the Supreme Government, dated 4th July 1832. In his letter, the Governor urged the necessity of removing Briggs on the following charges: his subordination of the Dewan to himself as the Commissioner, he carried out reforms inspite of protest by Mr.Drury, the Junior Commissioner; he proclaimed amnesty to all insurgents and poligars for purpose of restoring order and law in the state when they formed body of robbers. He added further -

> "We feel it our duty therefore, to state distinctly to your Lordship that we consider the removal of Briggs from all power indespensable to the good government. Further, we were reluctantly compelled by a sense of duty to solicit your lordship to take the management of Mysore under your own immediate control rather than leave the administration of that country to us if we were to rule it through the agency of Briggs."[9]

---

8. Ibid., p. 160

9. S.R.Lushington, Governor of Madras to Governor-General dated 4th July, 1832, Mad.Pol.Cons., Vol. 9, 1832, pp. 2838, 2843.

One of the far reaching effects of the resignation of Briggs was the abolition of the Board of Commissioners and the appointment of only one authority, the Single ~~Sole~~ Commissioner. Irrespective of the impediments caused by the Governor of Madras, and the Junior Commissioner, Briggs had introduced certain reforms. They laid foundation for good administration. Sir Mark Cubbon, the Sole Commissioner, carried out his reforms based on him. Briggs had three objectives in introducing the reforms.[10] Stern and thorough reforms and wholesome restriction by ordinance; supreme power of the Commission over the revenues and restoration of Raja as early as possible to his proper position. To achieve the above said objectives, Briggs adopted strict regulations in the civil establishment and resistance and conciliation to bring law and order. He called for the resignation of Venkataramaiah, the Dewan-in-charge and to submit an account of all receipts and disbursements. In his place, he appointed Babu Rao. The Dewan was placed in charge of financial department, formation of annual and other settlements. He was required to issue orders to the subordinate officers. Further, the Dewan was required to take the sanction of the Commissioners to obtain aid by submitting a written memorandum.[11] They disallowed the transfer of responsibility to any other authority. According to them such responsibility belonged solely to them as a board. The civil establishment were organised in every detail from a condition of utter confusion and arbitrary inefficiency into a practical and manageable system. The Governmental machinery at the time when the British Commission assumed the administration consisted of ten branches relating to the general administration, namely: the Dewans Cutchery (office), FIRYAD Cutchery (Petition Branch), HUZUR ADALAT or Judicial Branch, Khazana Cutchery or Treasury Branch, Sowar Cutchery or Cavalry Branch, Barr Cutchery or Infantry Branch, Khandachar Cutchery or Police and Militia Branch, Anche Cutchery or Postal Branch, Sandal Cutchery and Huzur Cutchery (Central Secretariat). In all these departments, regulations were issued distinctly in respect of the relative duties. The District officers were required to address all letters to the Department on subjects connected with their respective departments. Further, it was provided that each cutchery should have a seal maintained by the Head of the Department. With this reorganisation, all inefficient officers were removed from the above said cutcheries. For example, Murari Rao, Head of the Firyad Cutchery was removed.[12] At the same time, appropriate circulars were issued to Amils and Fauzdars, detailing their respective duties as officers of justice. Reductions were effected in the military garrisons throughout the state. The reorganisation was effected in the Barr or

---

[10] Memoirs of Briggs, p. 214.

[11] Minutes of proceedings of the Board of Commissioner for the Government of Mysore dated 14th May, 1832. Mad.Pol.Cons., Vol.10, 1832, pp.3111 and 3117. See also M.S.P., Vol. 4, No.8, p. 37.

---

[12] M.S.P., Vol. 4, para 22, p. 46.

Infantry department. In addition to this, several measures were effected in the field of judiciary. The outbreak of insurrection in 1831 had caused much confusion in the judicial proceedings of the state. There was no established law and competent courts to try the cases. The judicial personnel were not efficient to deal with the situations. According to Briggs, judicial powers in the previous regime was assumed by any one and every one who had any power by virtue of office of rank or property, from the prince on the throne down to landlord of a simple village.[13] The statement of Briggs appears to be highly exaggerated. No doubt, the judicial department like other departments was defective, as a result of inefficient, influential and corrupt officers. It needed a thorough reorganisation. When the Commission assumed the administration, the judiciary consisted the following courts: the village Court under Patel or Headman, the Kotwal's Court; the Court of Amil; the Court of Foujdar, and the Supreme Court. The highest Court of Appeal was the Raja who formed the fountain head of justice. Briggs established the following Courts. They were, the Court of Patel, the Court of Amil, the Court of Foujdar, and the Supreme Court of Huzur Adalat. A proclamation to that effect for publicity was also issued.[14]

---

13. Memoirs of Briggs, p. 215.

14. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners for the Government of Mysore, dated 16th May, 1832, Mad.Pol.Cons., Vol.8, 1832, p. 2700.

The Court of Patel

Patel, the village headman was empowered to determine all suits regarding personal property on oral evidence valued at Rs.10/-. His decision in this regard was final. Further, he was given powers to determine suits regarding personal property not exceeding the sum of Rs.100/-. With the help of Panchayat, according to the custom of Mysore, he decided the cases. Appeal was allowed from Patel's Court to the Court of Amil, provided the appeal was made within thirty days of the date of decree.

Amil's Court

The Court of Amil received the appeals from the Court of Patels. The Amil was competent to try all cases originating within his jurisdiction to the extent of Rs.20/-. He decided cases which involved sum upto Rs.100/-. In cases of disputes exceeding the sum of Rs.100/-, the Amil with a Panchayat was empowered to try the case.

Foujdar's Court or Divisional Court

The Court of Foujdar received appeals from the Court of Amil. The Foujdar within his jurisdiction tried cases regarding the sums upto Rs.200/-. He with the assistance of Panchayat, decided cases to the extent of Rs.2,000/-.

Huzur Adalt or Supreme Court

The Court was established at the capital. At its head was Ramaraj, an able Brahmin. It received appeals from Fouzdars court and determined cases to the extent of Rs. 2,000/-, on an application of either party. The Court decided cases to any extent with twelve Panchayatdars. Appeals could be carried from this Court. All complaints were required to be addressed to the Courts competent to hear them. The complaints were to be written on stamp papers according to the value of the property in litigation. Further the complaints were to include the name, residence, and occupation of the plaintiff and also of the defendant. They were to state distinctly the circumstance of dispute in as few words as possible and also the date of the dispute.[15] In addition to this Briggs established a Firyad Cutchery. This was located in Huzur. It heard all complaints regarding the exactions of public of revenue, apprehensive actions on the part of the public officers, and injustice in general practised by the officers of the government. No complaints were received by this Cutchery unless written on a stamp paper of the value of half a rupee.

Mode of Punishment

The patels were authorised to confine low class persons in the stock for petty offences during any periodof day from sunrise to sunset, or to impose fine to an extent of Re.1/-. In cases where further detention was necessary a report was to be made to SHEKDAR on spot who by MAHAZAR (investigation) decided the case. The Amil was vested with powers to try and confine on his own personal responsibility for a period of thirty days and impose fine to the extent of Rs.20/-. The Foujdar with a panchayat was competent to determine the guilt and award punishment to an extent of one year, submitting the proceedings to the Supreme Court for confirmation.[16] All other cases were decided by the Supreme Court. The Panchayats acted as Assessors or persons to determine the guilt. The Judge aided by the law officers of court passed the sentence. But no sentence of the Supreme Court was carried into effect unless confirmed by the Board of Commissioners. It was provided that all exhibits or pleas entered on any judicial record were to be written on stamp paper valued at 3% of the amount of the property.[17] All decrees and awards passed in any Court were to be written on stamp papers valued at 6% of the amount used for. All URGEES were required to be written on stamp papers of the value of half a rupee. Other documents were to be written on stamp paper valued at one anna per sheet. These stamp regulations were issued for the purpose of collecting revenue to the judicial department. The Commission established law and order disrupted in the Nagar Fouzadari. The insugents headed by Palegars of Tarikere were still causing trouble in the Nagar Fouzdari levying money and supplies from the people and sheltering themselves in the jungles. The disturbed area was divided into twelve military divisions with a view to create apprehension to those who were disturbing the peace. A proclamation much against the Junior Commissioner and the Resident Casamajor was issued on 7th February, 1832 to the Palegars, Zamindars and other insurgents. It warned them to return peacefully.[18] The immediate effect of the proclamation was that all those who were responsible for the disturbances returned to their homes. Even the Palegars of Tarikere took advantage of this and submitted an application to Briggs, requesting to pardon them and to restore all facilities enjoyed by them previous to the insurrection.[19] Briggs pardoned the Palegars by adopting conciliatory methods. He restored the pensions which Palegars of Tarikere were entitled to. Thereby, he won their allegiance. Thus peace was restored in the disturbed parts of the state. It was when these reforms were introduced and came into effect from June 1832, Briggs had to tender resignation owing to the difference of opinion between him and the Junior Commissioner. Bentinck appreciated

---

[15] Ibid., p. 2703

---

[16] Ibid., p. 2706

[17] Ibid., p. 2728. Modification of Stamp Regulations applicable to the Judicial Department.

---

[18] Proclamation by the Commissioners, 7th Feb., 1832 (Bangalore), Mad.Pol.Cons.,Vol.6,1832, p.1864.

[19] Application presented by Santhebednur Surjappa Naik and Nanjappa Naik, Palegars of Tarikere to Col. Briggs, 5th April, 1832, Mad.Pol.Cons., Vol.7, 1832, p. 2403.

Briggs and did not accept the views of Briggs. He transferred Briggs as Resident of Nagpur. Briggs was a distinctive personality. He had combined in himself administrative and soldierly qualities. He was sincere, honest and straightforward in his duties. On accepting the resignation of Briggs, the Governor-General remarked "that it was no more than an act of justice to that officer to record his sense of energy, activity and zeal which he had displayed in discharge of the duties as Senior Commissioner".[20]

The reorganisation of Judiciary, restoration of tranquility in the division of Nagar, regulation of civil and military establishments, and pacification of discontented and rebellious zamindars, Palegars and other insurgents were the unique achievement of Briggs. Later on, Briggs became Major General. He took a prominent part in restoring the Raja during 1865-67. He was one of the members sent to the Secretary of State for India led by Sir Henry Rawlingson for the restoration of Raja. Briggs was succeeded by J.M.Macleod, the Junior Commissioner until the arrival of Col.W. Morison. It was during the time of Morison, in April 1834 that the suggestion of a single commissioner by Briggs was given effect to. He himself was nominated to that post. In establishing a Board of Commission, the aim was to introduce reforms and to build up a strong and efficient government in Mysore. The object was to promote the welfare and prosperity

---

20.

of Mysore, to establish a better system of government therein, to put an effectual step to anarchy and disturbance and to redress all the wrongs done to the people by the previous government. But it was soon found that views and proceedings of the Board of Commissioners were contradictory and non-agreeable and a purely native agency could not survive in such a hot bed of intrigue and corruption. The two European Commissioners were not unanimous in their decision. The difference between the two and unhealthy atmosphere created thereby had reached the Directors in England. It was inevitable to place the whole territory in immediate subordination to the Supreme Government. The Directors adopted and confirmed all the objections of Briggs. They upheld the good work done in Mysore since 1831 by Briggs. In a despatch dated 6th March, 1833, the Directors observed:

> "We must observe that this unfortunate difference might have been anticipated. Two Commissioners with equal powers appointed by two different governments, the one a military, the other a civil servant could hardly be expected to act harmoniously together; an officer appointed by one government and accountable to another was not very likely to give satisfaction. It was, we think unfortunate the two officers were appointed, where one if properly selected and allowed the number of assistants necessary to relieve him from the burden of details would not only have been sufficient but preferable and especially when all the necessary qualities could be found in one man. We therefore direct that instead of a Commission of two members, a single functionary properly called, qualified and aided by a requisite number of assistants be appointed to the charge of Mysore country."[21]

---

[21] Memoirs of Briggs, p. 210.

Accordingly, a change in the constitution of Mysore Commission was made by Bentinck as per the directions of the Directors. Morrison who succeeded Briggs was nominated as the Sole Commissioner. He introduced certain reforms in accordance with instructions of Governor-General. Morrison reduced the six divisions of states into four under European Superintendents, replacing the Indian Foujdars. They were empowered with revenue, majesterial and certain judicial powers.[22] Further the Superintendents were required to respect all ancient usages and institutions of the state in administering civil and criminal justice. The Amils were empowered with police duties and not majesterial powers. The Superintendents had to supervise all matters civil and criminal and referred the same to the Commissioner. Corporal punishment was not inflicted. Death sentence was awarded in cases of murder, robbery and plunder on the frontier. In revenue matters, the Superintendents were ordered to revise the existing system of settlement subject to the orders of the Commissioners. They were required to see that the Amils protected the rights of the Ryots. They were given supreme powers to control the Amils in their respective jurisdictions, check all collections and disbursements and investigate all complaints preferred against them or their subordinates. In all their duties

---

22. Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II, part IV, p.2892.

the Superintendents were expected to preserve the native agency. These various measures were approved by the Directors in their despatch dated 25th September, 1835. Meanwhile Morrison was transferred to Calcutta and was succeeded by Col. Cubbon.

Sir Mark Cubbon

Sir Mark Cubbon who held the post of Sole Commissioner for a period of twenty six years, was a benevolent administrator. During his period, the State witnessed great progress, in all walks of life. Before his appointment as Sole Commissioner, Cubbon had varied experience with the native state. He was a member of the Insurrection Committee and had worked as Junior Commissioner. Cubbon was the son of a clergyman. He came to India at the age of sixteen.[23] On his arrival he joined his uncle Major Welsh at the Mysore Residency. In this way he had an acquaintance with the state of Mysore. He was the commissioner of Mysore from 1834 to 1861. Though the Board of Commissioners had taken certain measures for the restoration of law and order, the indfference of opinion with Briggs and the resignation tendered by him came in the way of these measures being fully implemented. The insurgents of the late insurrection were still active. The Paleyagars of Tarikere were not happy though they had been pacified to some extent. They still exhibited a nature of defiance against the state. The Nagar division was still the scene of trouble inspite of measures undertaken by Briggs. The military was still inefficient. The horses were unfit for the service and the arms and general equipments were not up to date.[24] The employees of SOWAR, BARR, BURGIR and the office of the Dewan, priests and servants of temples, choultrys, pensioners, Purniah's grandsons and palace establishments were in arrears from the Government. Besides corruption was rampant. Mr. Stokes, Superintendent of Nagar division reported "that there was scarcely a single taluka in which serious abuses have not been practiced either in levying contributions or remissions in Jamdbandhi.[25] The people had been burdened with vexatious taxes.[26] The adoption of several languages for official purposes caused confusion. For, Kannada, Marathi, Hindusthani and sometimes Persian had been used according to the convenience of the officials and not of the people. There was no single medium in which the people and the government could correspond and exchange their views. The inams or rent free lands granted by the former administration had become an irregular institutions. These Inams which were mostly in fertile areas had not been listed systematically. There existed no

---

[23] Lewis Rice - Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 432.

---

24. K.N.V.Sastri - Administration of Mark Cubbon, p. 24

25. Report on the Nagar division by S.Stokes, Selected records of the Mysore Commissioners Office, Part-IV, para 115, p. 45.

26. Ibid.

registers. Besides many lands had been illegally occupied as inams during the disturbances of 1830. As a result the government was lossing much revenue. These were the varied problems the commission has to deal with. The commission was called upon to justify that the assumption of Mysore was for the good. At the same time, it was required to provide an opportunity to the native talents in achieving prosperity. No doubt Cubbon was worthy to achieve this. His period witnessed remarkable improvement and development in all the walks of life as could be seen by his various reforms in administration, revenue, judicial, police, public works and educational fields. Cubbon felt the need of a regular civil service to bring out efficiency for the smooth administration. The administration was placed in charge of commissioner, assisted by four superintendents and a number of amildars. The superintendents were incharge of four divisions and functioned with more powers directly responsible for the commissioner. The amildars in charge of taluka were prohibited to correspond directly with the commissioner. They were made subordinate to superintendents. The office of Dewan was abolished. Either Marathi or Kannada was recognised as official language. But an English translation was allowed for the convenience of the European superintendents. The following officers were constituted with well trained personnel such as revenue, posts, police,

LIBRARY

public works, military, judicial, public cattle, medical and the public instruction. The head of the revenue office was Sheristedar whose duties were similar to those of former Dewan in his revenue capacity. The heads of posts, police and military were called Bakshis and the rest were under the control of European officers who were styled as superintendents. The judiciary was under Judicial Commissioner and Public instruction under a director. To regulate financial transactions, treasuries were established in all the headquarters of the amildars, superintendents and the Commissioner. All receipts and payments were made in cash. Hundi was prohibited. The provision was made for contingent expenditure. The Kanteroi Pagoda, the old currency was replaced by the rupee in 1854. The revenue system namely Ryotwari was the only system adopted during the time of Cubbon. The Commissioner scrutinised the land rents. They were reduced where it was considered high. Besides land revenue, Sayer, sandalwood, toddy and tobacco continued to be the chief sources of income to the government. Commercial crops like coffee and mulbery cultivation received much encouragement. They fetched additional revenue to the government. They as well provided employment to many.[27] The incidence of the tax was lowered wherever it was oppressive. To the great relief of the people, numerous vexatious taxes were abolished. For example, in 1832-33 and 1834 all duties on grains were abolished. In 1837-38 all kinds of internal duties were removed. Transit duties were removed on paper, cardamom and wool in 1842-43 and on coffee in 1844. The duty on tobacco and the monopoly on it was abolished in 1844-45. To compensate for the sizable loss of revenue as a result of these reductions an additional Halut (excise duty) was levied on cardamom and first quality of supari (Arecanut).[28] The commission abolished number of duties formerly levied on grain, firewood, old timber, European goods, sandalwood, oil and vegetables.[29] There was no regular system of principle under the late administration in respect of custom duties. The tariff tables called praharapatties displaying the rate of duties to be paid on each article was issued by the Sircar and was displayed in most of the Cuttays (excise stations). But the Government itself was the first to infringe the rules by granting Cowls of entire or partial exemption to certain favourite individuals.[30] The effects were such that the praharapatties were looked upon as the waste paper and each Cuttay appeared to have set of Mamuls or local rates of its own. It became necessary for every trader to purchase the goodwill of custom servant along the whole line of road by which he travelled or to submit to the incessant convenience and detention.[31] He was subjected to constant loss of time or money or both. Thus the merchants were put to considerable hardship. The unknown merchants were practically debarred from entering the State. The whole trade had been monopolised by Sayer contractor or his servants who knew how to command at Durbar. These frauds and arbitrary rates in existence since long were removed by Cubbon who introduced uniform excise duties throughout the State.

---

[27] General Memorandum on Mysore, 1864, p.12.

---

[28] Ibid., para 33, p.11

[29] Ibid., para 56, p. 17

[30] Memorandum on Sayer in Mysore, para 10, pp.244. (General Memorandum in Mysore, 1861).

As a result, there was extensive trade accompanied by large revenue and prosperity to the Government and the people respectively. It is worth mentioning here that the various types of taxes were removed by the Commissioner. For example, tax on marriage, and taking concubine, on a female attaining puberty, on a child being born and given a name, its head being shaved and on the subsequent purification ceremony.[32] Cubbon abolished not less than seven hundred and sixtynine items of such taxes.

Before the assumption of Mysore, there was no organised police service. The Pòlice duties were done by the armed personnel known as Kandachar with the co-operation of the natives. Frequently, the Kandachar men were commissioned for military service. The Commissioner issued police Hukumnama (rules and regulations) in July 1834 which provided for regular police service by the Kandachar soldiers.[33] Their qualifications for recruitment into service were clearly specified. These were classified into armed and unarmed persons and were assigned the following duties:

---

[31] Ibid. - Sayer in Chitaldurg Division, para 71, p.20

[32] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

(a) to escort the state treasury and prisoners as well as to guard the jails;

(b) to serve when called for field service;

(c) to kill wild beasts in return for a reward;

(d) to accompany respectable travellers within the limits of their duty;

(e) to watch all passes and roads;

(f) to prevent thefts and detect the culprits;

(g) to keep a watch on Forts and principal towns during night.

Every Hobli in a taluka had two such Kandachar men to maintain law and order. In the taluka they were placed under Amildar who had a Killedar or Daffedar and Hoblidars to assist him in police duties. The Paleyagars of Tarikere and their relations were in arms in 1834. Their leader Kengal Naik was executed by the orders of the Commissioner. The policy of the Commissioner in respect of Paleyagars were largely conciliatory except under dire necessity, when he had to resort to arms. For, with the execution of ring leader many of his adherents were summoned to Bangalore and those who had valid claims were given pensions on the condition that they should stay in the capital.

---

[33] Administration of Mysore and Mark Cubbon, K.V.N. Sastry, p. 28.

By an order issued on 27th October, 1834, the Judiciary was reorganised with the following courts:[34]

Taluka or Amil Courts, the Bangalore and Mysore Town Munsiff's Courts, the Principal Subedar Munsiffs Courts, The European Superintendents Court, Huzur Adalt native Court attached to the Commissioners office and the court of the Commissioner. The Commissioners court was the highest court in the State. It received appeals from the lower courts. No original suits were allowed in this court. A list of all the most respectable inhabitants competent to perform the duties of Panchayatdars (juniors) was displayed in the courts of Superintendents, Munsiff and Amil. The Panchayatdars had free access to all the proceedings in the court. Professional Vakils (lawyers) were discouraged. Foreigners, as a matter of necessity were allowed to employ Vakils. Until 1834, the institution fee was levied on all suits. Having considered it as an unfair tax upon justice, Cubbon abolished it in 1834. Kannada was the court language for the all the judicial proceedings and decisions. But the head of the court was allowed to write the decision in any other language if he was not conversant with Kannada.[35] Regulations were issued to the effect that all transactions such as Bonds, Bills of Sale, agreement, transfer of deeds and other documents were to be executed on a stamp paper of fixed value. The Commissioner was alone had the right to inflict death sentence, transportation of life or life imprisonment. Females were not subject to corporal punishment under any circumstance.

---

[34] General Memorandum on Mysore, 1864, Memorandum showing the system of Judicature in Mysore.

The public works such as construction of buildings, maintenance of tanks and channels, irrigation projects, construction and repair of roads were undertaken by the revenue department before the Commission. In 1836 and 1837, for the first time, a Superintendent was appointed by Cubbon to supervise the public works. In 1855-56, as a result of Dalhousie's benevolent reforms, an independent department was created for public works in all the states. Cubbon undertook extensive works of public utility. The first was the development of roads. The condition of roads was miserable. They were impassable and surrounded with jungles causing apprehension to the travellers. Besides they were attacked by the robbers. Their existed only three roads, Naikenary to Mysore via Bangalore, Srirangapatna to Sira and Bellary to Bangalore via Hariyur. Even these roads were not in good condition.[36] Cubbon improved these roads and constructed branch roads linking the main roads. A new road was constructed from Bangalore to Shimoga via Hiriyur, a distance of 173 miles. The road from Shimoga to the foot of the Agumbe ghat, a distance of 58 miles and Saklaspur to Munzerabad ghat, Hiriyur to Shimoga, Belur to Bage and Palya to Saklaspur were carried out. On all the main thoroughfares leading to important towns, Cubbon ordered for the construction of rest houses and travellers bungalows. He undertook irrgational projects for the improvement of agriculture by building stone dams or Anicuts, Nallas, tanks, sluices and Codies or gorges. The prominent tanks in the state were renovated. They were maintained well during Cubbon's time. Kunigal tank, Hirisave tank, Kikkeri tank, and Hullepura tank at Nanjungud are some of them. There was no hospital or dispensary in the modern sense to look after the health of the people before the arrival of Cubbon. The native physicans called Hakims and Pandits performed the medical duties. In all the Taluka and military stations, the Hakims and Pandits had the customary practice. Cubbon continued their practice and attached them even to prisoners. In 1833 the first public dispensary was opened in Bangalore fort. In all the headquarters of divisions and taluka European Medical Officers supervised the medical service. In 1846, Cubbon had built a big hospital in Bangalore. Further, a leper House and Lunatic Asylum were opened.[37] Besides, the Government run hospitals, a maternity hospital was built in Mysore in 1841 by the order of the Maharaja.

---

[35] Ibid., p. 20

[36] Memorandum on Public Works - Colonel Charles Green, Chief Engineer of Mysore, S.R.M.C.O., Chapter VII, pp.2-4.

---

[37] A.R.F., Part I, p. 110.

The introduction of English in the educational institutions and the development of Western education was another event of the many sided activities of Cubbon as Commissioner. His period synchronised with Macaulay's minutes on English education and Charles Woods Despatch of 1854 on the state control of public instruction. As per the despatch of Charles Woods in 1855-56 a scheme of education was drawn by Hon. Devereux, Judicial Commissioner of the State. The scheme was sanctioned on 6th February, 1857. It aimed at the establishment of vernacular and English schools in the State of Mysore.[38] The scheme provided for the establishment of 80 vernacular schools, one in each taluka, four Anglo-Vernacular schools, one in each division and eventually a college. Further, there was provision for the training of teachers and examination in schools by the Inspectors with necessary staff. To give effect to the scheme, a Director was appointed. But the scheme was not fully given effect to owing to unfavourable conditions caused by the outbreak of Sepoy Mutiny in March 1857. Further the scheme was looked upon by the people with suspicion. For, they considered it a policy of Christianising the natives.[39]

---

[38] Cubbon to Secretary, Government of India, Calcutta, 12th January, 1860. (Report on the Educational Establishment of Mysore & Coorg during the regime of Cubbon), Residency Records, Bangalore, No.8.

[39] Ibid., para 2.

Cubbon officially furthered the elementary education in addition to missionary activities in this field. There were 21 vernacular schools providing education to 701 children. The Government made provision for the missionary schools to receive the grants-in-aid provided their existed confidence of the natives in them. Because, Cubbon noticed certain missionaries indulging in religious propaganda and creating suspicion in the minds of many natives.[40] The activities of the missionaries in the State dates back to 1840, when Krishnaraja Wodeyar started an English School under the supervision of Wesleyan missionary, the Rev. T. Hudson.[41] In 1842, the Wesleyan mission started an English school at Bangalore. It was known as Native Education Institution. It was under the management of Rev. J.Garret. Cubbon granted to it a monthly aid of Rs.50/-. Similar schools were established at Tumkur, Shimoga, and Hassan. In 1840-41, Mrs.Sewell, wife of Rev. T.Sewell of the London Mission started a girls school at Bangalore for the first time. To supervise the government schools as well as missionary schools, the Department of Public Instruction was created in 1857, with Captain Stephens as Director and Frederick Green, as Inspector of Schools. Besides educational activities the Wesleyan mission had established a printing press in 1840. It is to be noted that this was the first press in the State which has upto this day survived in Mysore. Mr.Handerson a missionary gentleman edited

---

[40] Ibid., para 9.
[41] K.N.V.Sastry - Administration of Mysore under Mark Cubbon, p. 82.

Kannada-English dictionary.

Classical learning in Sanskrit and Persian was encouraged. They were mostly under the patronage of private bodies. In addition, the government aided these institutions. The Maharaja's Sanskrit College at Mysore was one such centre endowed with sovereign.

Among newspapers of the period, Bangalore Herald published by James and a Kannada Newspaper Mysore Vritanta Bodhini figure prominently.

In the beginning of 1860, there was a move to transfer Mysore Affairs from the Government of Calcutta to Madras, thus reversing what had been done in 1832. This step was looked upon by Cubbon as distasteful and tendered resignation on that issue. Cubbon swept away the vexatious taxes, cleared the liabilities of the State, increased the revenue, introduced reforms and in general sought the welfare of the people. In his work he was ably assisted by Kollam Venkata Rao, the native assistant who earned the title from the Government as Rai Rai Rai for his valuable services to the State. Cubbon was conservative in his outlook. But he understood men and things. He knew how to guide and govern. The resignation of Cubbon was a shock to the Raja despite his political predicaments. With sincere regrets, the Raja observed:

> "The zeal and ability you have displayed in your administration, the great improvements you have made without changing the native institutions and ideas, the continued prosperity of the state and the happiness of the people have been the theme of admiration and praise in everybody's lips."

No memorial is more befitting than the equestarian statute of Cubbon installed in a beautiful park named after him in Bangalore to recall his great administrative talents and the close association with the State of Mysore. His memory has been feelingly cherished to this day for his benovelent acts.

Lord Bowring as the Commissioner 1860-70

Mark Cubbon was succeeded by Lewin Bowring as the Commissioner. It was not till 1862 that he assumed the new post. Meanwhile, C.B.Saunders, the Judicial Commissioner of Mysore was the acting Commissioner. Bowring had varied experience to his credit. He was in Bengal Civil Service. He had worked before as Assistant Resident at Lahore in 1847 and subsequently in the Punjab Commission. From 1858 to 1862, he was private Secretary to the Governor-General Canning. Bowring more or less continued the administrative set up established by Cubbon. His period may be considered as the termination of non-regulation system. The non-regulation system wherein the regulation of acts and rules of the Government of India had not been enforced and judicial and executive functions were exercised by the same authority.

The system was discontinued by the Charter Act of 1854. The European officers were few in number. Superintendents of Divisions aided by assistants exercised greater power without any recognised or defined powers. The check over the detailed administration was negligible. Besides, the judicial and executive powers of the Superintendents had caused delay in conducting the administrative work. In otherwords the officers were over burdened with multifarious duties. The introduction of a regular system defining the functions and powers of the officers in every branch of administration was felt. As a result, centralisation was replaced by decentralisation. The regulation system was set in operation by the creation of numerous departments. Every department was given definite jurisdiction and power. The departmental organisation is one of the distinctive features of Bowring's administration. Accordingly revenue, judicial, accounts, registration of documents, survey and settlement, Mujarayi and Inam departments came into existence. With this there was the administrative efficiency, quick disposal of the cases and improvement in the administration. The administration of Mysore was brought in par with the regulated provinces. Bowring introduced some new measures such as the land survey, Inam settlement, forest conservation, village schools and municipalities. The reforms effected by Bowring may be briefly classified into administrative, judicial and executive reforms. For the administrative convenience the state was divided into three divisions and eight districts.[42] Subordinate officers of superintendence in districts were styled as deputy superintendents or assistants. The superintendents exercised civil and criminal powers which was exercised by the commissioner and superintendent in non-regulation provinces.[43] The deputy superintendents were empowered to adjudicate civil suits upto any amount, appeals lying to the courts of superintendants. In criminal matters they were vested with full powers of the Magistrate. After the establishment of the commission, though certain reforms had been carried out in the field of revenue such as abolition of Shirtee and reduction of money rent, still much had been left out. There was no uniform rate of assessment throughout the territory. The land records relating to measurement and assessment was under the control of village accountants. They had many discrepancies. No boundary marks had been drawn. It resulted in frauds. With a view to check these above evils, a regular Land Survey and Settlement department was established in 1862. Bowring introduced the Bombay Revenue Survey system. This measure was a solution to the evils noted above. The system provided for the fixing of boundaries, permanent marks and accurate measurement of area, rectangular mound to define the limits, to club the holdings where they were small, drafting of village maps showing the position, size and limits of fields, roads, water courses, and other particulars.[44] The advantage of this system was that it secured the individual holdings. The rate of assessment was fixed considering the classification of soil, water facility, climate, marketing facility, and relative value of the fields. Lands were classified into wet, dry, and garden land. The Survey and Settlement Department started functioning in 1863 and lasted upto 1872. The Batayee tenure under which the land exclusively belonged to the government and cultivators and tenants sharing the produce with the government was given up. The ryot was given a hereditary right of occupation as long as the assessment was paid. The Department was placed under the Commissioner assisted by a Superintendent, a deputy Superintendent, and 14 assistant superintendents. The total area measured and classed from the commencement of the survey operations upto the end of March 1881 was 13,915,826 acres.[45] The only defect in the system was that the department was exclusively under European officers.

---

[42] Mysore Gazetteer - Lewis Rice, Vol. 1, p.677. (published in 1897).

[43] Ibid., p. 678.

At the time of restoration in 1799, the Supreme Government had laid emphasis on the alienation of lands in

---

44. Ibid., p. 694

45. Ibid., p. 696

the form of Inams and Jagirs, as it would endanger the finances of state. The resident had been instructed to keep a watch in this regard. A thorough investigation of such tenures granted by the competent authorities had been made by the Commission after the assumption of the territory. But it was not till 1863 that any definite scheme for this purpose was planned. The land survey and settlement department was empowered to investigate the inams and jagirs. This was however opposed by the inamdars. In view of this opposition it was considered that separate rules and regulations for the confirmation of inams should be drawn on liberal principles.[46] As a result, Inam Commission was established to secure the land tenures and protect revenue interests. Its duty was to enquire into the validity of the titles to lands held by individuals or religious institutions as real or pretended endowments from the sovereign of the country. The Inam Commission was also empowered with judicial authority in these matters. The work of the commission both in its principles and procedures was on the lines of the Madras System.[47] The Madras System had laid emphasis on the enfranchisement of Inam tenures. That is converting those tenures which were under invalid titles into absolute saleable property for an annual payment to government as quit rent. The Inam settlement was conducted on the following principles; if the *Sannads* had been granted by Krishnaraja Wodeyar III or by his predecessors and if they conveyed full powers for alienation and or hereditary, the *inams* were to be treated as heritable and alienable property; if *Sannads* did not convey powers to alienate, the *Inams* were to be enfranchised by payment of quit rent equal to one eighth of the assessment except in cases of *inams* granted to religious, charitable and village services; and if the *Sannads* had been granted by incompetent authority and less than 50 years old, a compulsory quit rent equal to one-half of the assessment was to be imposed. The revenue of the state was derived from the land tax levied on wet, dry and garden land, sugarcane, coffee, pasture, *Jodi* villages, *Kayamgutta* villages, inam villages, Areca coconut and betel leaf.[48] Besides, the sandal wood was a state monopoly. Next to this was timber. Coffee yielded an excise duty of four annas per maund.[49] An excise duty levied on Areca, tobacco, betel leaves, pepper, cardamom and opium fetched additional revenue. Further local taxes levied in Mysore on houses, shops, looms, oil mills, scents and clothes yielded a large revenue to the state. In 1863-64 the forest Conservancy department was opened.[50] Further the state and district forests were bifurcated in 1869. The state forest was placed under the sole menagement of the forest department while the district forests came under the revenue authorities. In order to increase the revenue of the state, stamp revenue was regulated by the introduction of Indian Stamp Act in 1865. It provided an additional revenue of 4 and a half lakhs. Temples and institutions mostly of religious nature were endowed with lands and grants for a long time by the rulers of Mysore. After the assumption of state by the Company, the superintendents were in charge of these institutions. In 1852, Cubbon personally looked into these matters. There had been no separate department to supervise such grants. The Government of India had been aiming at establishing a separate department to look after the temples and other religious institutions. Accordingly the Muzarai department came into existence. It was placed under a native assistant in each district and was styled as District Muzarai Officer. The orders placed by him were to be ratified by the Deputy Commissioner and finally the Chief Commissioner.[51]

---

[46] Ibid., p. 698

[47] British Administration of Mysore - By a native of Mysore, 1874, p. 27.

---

[48] Mysore Gazette, Lewis Rice, Vol. I, p. 701.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 703; See B.A.M., p. 28

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 706

For the first time in the history of Mysore, Bowring introduced Municipalities to administer and manage the local affairs.[52] As an experiment, municipalities were introduced in Bangalore and Mysore following the orders of the Government of India in the year 1861. The Bangalore municipal board was under the control of the assistant superintendent of police. The superintendent of Asthagram division acted as the president for the municipality of Mysore. Between 1864 and 1865 each district headquarter was provided with a municipality. Further this was extended to Kasabah or Taluka Headquarters and eventually to large trading towns and villages. The President of the Bangalore Municipality was a salaried official because the population was large and problems were numerous. As such it needed special attention. Elsewhere the post of president was honorary. In the District Headquarters there was a selected Government official to discharge the duties of the Municipal president in addition to other duties. The Municipal Boards in all these places included influencial European and native members. The municipalities were authorised to levy tax on articles brought within the Municipal limits for consumption; houses, buildings and Municipal lands; carriages and carts; Ferry boats; licences and bricks and tiles.[53] Before Bowring, the police system was that of Kandachar. It had been improved by better supervision. Besides, the revenue officials were also in charge of the police duties. But Bowring took an active step to stabilise the department by introducing Madras Police Act V of 1861 in the year 1866. The Act provided for a regular police service under an officer-in-charge of the District.[54]

---

[51] Ibid., p. 715

[52] A.R.F., Part I, para 13, p.112.

---

[53] Mysore Gazetteer, Lewis Rice, Vol.I, p. 716.

[54] Ibid., p. 730.

Special police establishments were sanctioned to Bangalore, Mysore, Tumkur and Shomoga towns. For the first time the jails were opened in 1863. What is more the Bangalore Central Jail was second in India in respect of security as well as facilities created for prisoners. Formerly the convicts used to be lodged in road or camp jails as they were employed in building roads and other public works. Conditions of the prisoners were improved. They were given good diet. Sunday was holiday, on which day oil and soapnut were supplied for cleanliness. The working hours were revised to be between sunrise to 3 p.m. An hour's rest was given at noon.[55]

Though the Department of public works had been in operation since 1856, certain items of public works like construction of tanks and channels were still under the Revenue Officers. The Revenue authorities were always under the obligation of Public Works for professional supervision. This caused much delay in executing the works. To overcome this delay, Bowring appointed a Committee to assign specific power to Revenue authorities regarding their part of the work. It reserved for the Department of public works, the professional supervision.[56] A separate department for irrigational purposes was opened. Bridges were erected over the Kaveri, Kapini and the Bethamangala. Besides, channels were drawn from Hemavathi, the Kaveri and the Lakshmana tirtha to double the agricultural production. Bowring got several civil buildings built. The public offices at Bangalore built during 1864-68 and the Central Jail and the Bowring civil hospital built in 1867 are worth mentioning. Further repairs and rennovations were made to public monuments and religious buildings. Tippu's summer palace known as Dariya Daulat at Srirangapatna was renovated. So also temple of Halebid. Telegraphic lines were erected during Bowrings time between Attibele near Hosur to Rampet on Bellary frontier and Bangalore to Kanakanahalla. They covered distance of 191 miles and 143 miles respectively.[57] At the same time railway lines from Bangalore were started. The introduction of English education during Cubbons time had laid much emphasis on starting English medium schools. Bowring drew up a comprehensive scheme for the spread of vernacular language. The scheme provided for the training of school teachers. It also provided for adequate arrangements for inspection of schools. Hobli or taluka subdivision was taken as the unit to implement the scheme. The instruction was entirely in Kannada. In 1863, education department became a full fledged independent department. In 1861, a normal school at Bangalore with English and Kannada branches was opened. An Engineering School for the purpose of training subordinate personnel for the department of public works was started in 1862.

---

[55] Mysore Gazetteer, Lewis Rice, Vol. 8, p. 728.

[56] Ibid., p. 729

---

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 39

Bowring regulated the vaccination system. As a result of these, vaccination made rapid progress.

The report of 1871-72 reveals the Judicial reorganisation made by Bowring. The administration of civil justice was on the lines of the Punjab judicial system.[58] A large number of courts were opened to dispense with the cases quickly and to impart justice without delay. The *Huzur Adalat* and a court of *Sadar Munsiff* were abolished. Instead the Court of Judicial Assistants were established. Bowring also removed the confusion in respect of civil, criminal and revenue cases. Till 1856, the Commissioner of Mysore used to be the final court of appeal in revenue matters and civil and criminal cases. After the appointment of the Judicial Commissioner, he dealt with only the revenue cases. As to the nature of the revenue cases, Bowring issued a circular in 1864.[59] Accordingly *Sircar* lands, jungles, *Inam* lands, charitable endowments, transfer by sale, gift or endowment by mortgage and by inheritance or division of exchange or surrender claims to rent, boundaries and irrigational matters were treated as revenue cases. In February 1869, the Government of India, named the Commissioner of Mysore as the Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg. As a result, he entertained appeals against the decision of *Inam* Commissioners, and the Superintendent of Coorg in revenue matters. Bowring abolished the system of fees from

---

58. *British Administration* *of Mysore* - P-11

59. Memorandum being the remarks of Chief Commissioner of Mysore, No.456 dated 1873, Residency Records, Bangalore.

November 1, 1862 onwards. In lieu of it, stamp regulations were introduced. It was during his time, legislative enactments were introduced such as Copy-Right of Books, Railway Act, Acquisition of Land for Public Purposes, Civil Procedure Code, Breach of Contract, Indian Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, Indian Stamp Act, Trading Companies Court Fees, and Indian Coinage. He also established the Bangalore Court of Small Causes for the recovery of small debts and demands.[60] The jurisdiction of the Court was extended to the whole of local limits including those portions of Bangalore known as Cantonment.

Bowring retired from office in 1870. He was a good administrator. There was scarcely a branch of administration untouched by Bowring. Bowring was sympathetic to the native interest and institutions. To cherish his memory a hospital in Bangalore has been named after him. It is still known as the Bowring Hospital. Besides, one of the towns on Bangalore Madras Railway line was named "Bowringpet" which is now called as Bangarpet.

To conclude, the half-a-century of British administration under Cubbon and Bowring caused great improvement and development. The process of Europeanisation was the only defect. It was done inspite of the instructions

---

60. Notification issued by the Secretary to the Commissioner, Mysore Commissioners Office, Bangalore, 20th December 1862, Residency Records, Bangalore.

of the Court of Directors that the agency under them should be exclusively native. The British management of the affairs of Mysore entrusted to them enhanced their reputation as successful administrators.

The assumption of the Government of Mysore by Bentinck had lowered the dignity of the Raja of Mysore. No doubt this was a great misfortune. The recommendation of Bentinck and the Resident Casamaijor to restore the taluk of Mysore to him did not receive any consideration from the Directors. The Raja lived a life of humiliation. He was loyal to the Company and engaged himself in promoting the interests of the people. He was provided with one-fifth of the net revenue of Mysore. In addition to this he was given one lakh of star pagodas per year as an allowance in accordance with the fifth article of the subsidiary treaty. The Raja till his death in 1868 continuously kep on appealing to the British Government for the restoration of his territory.

5. EFFORTS OF KRISHNA RAJA WODEYAR III TO REGAIN POWER

The deposition of the Raja in 1831 was a serious set back to his personality. He had to live a life of humiliation in the eyes of his subjects and never reconciled to his loss of power. When the assumption was made, the Raja appealed to the Governor-General that the administration should be carried on in his name so that his, as well as dynasty's prestige would not be lowered by his people. In fact the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck in a letter to the court of Directors dated 14th April, 1834 recommended that the foujadarees of Munzrabad, Mysore and Asthagram should be made over to the Raja instead of assuming the entire state. In his despatch to the Secret Committee of the court of Directors, Bentinck remarked:

> "The treaty of 1799 warrants assumption to secure the subsidy. The assumption was made on account of Raja's mis-Government. The subsidy does not appear to have been in any immediate jeopardy. Again the treaty authorises to assume such part or parts to compensate the subsidy."[1]

It may be noted here that this letter reveals the hasty and unjustified measure of Bentinck for which he deeply regretted and appeared to have said more than once that this was the only act of his Indian administration that he looked upon with regret. But the court of Directors neither considered the recommendation nor discussed the interpretation of the treaty. On the other hand they upheld the action of the Governor-General.

---

[1] Bentinck to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, 14th April, 1834. Mad.Sec.Proc.,1834.

The second half of Raja's life witnessed a great struggle for the restoration of his state. His efforts for his reinstatement and restoration of native rule is a heroic tale ever embarked by the princes and chiefs of his time. They bear testimony to his courage, patience and vigour. From 1835 to 1848, the Raja had appealed to the four successive Gevernor-Generals who followed Bentinck. The Governor-Generals such as Charles Metcalfe (1835-36), Auckland (1836-1842), Ellenborough (1842-44) and Hardinge (1844-48) no doubt had expressed their sympathy. But neither the supreme government at Calcutta nor the court of Directors in London showed any reaction to the claims of the Raja. On the contrary, the court of Directors stated that the prospects of reinstatement would be considered as soon as orderly administration of the state being achieved. The native state of Mysore under Mark Cubbon, Commissioner, did achieve a great prosperity by this time. But why is it that the state was not restored to Raja? The answer is that the court of Directors were unwilling to part with the state which was rich. The incompetency of the Raja was made capital by the court of Directors and under this pretext, they postponed the Raja's reinstatement. Besides the state was rich and they desired to covet it. There was no question of moral or human consideration in this regard. If there was any, they would have consented to Raja's request to restore a part of territory immediately after the assumption. The attitude of the Directors however was vehemently criticised by Evans Bell. The Directors reason for their refusal to reinstate the Raja was obviously disliked by Bell. He remarked:

> "What prince in the world is endowed with sufficient talents or with self-sufficient denial to be safely trusted with uncontrolled and absolute power? Because the Raja of Mysore was an absolute ruler at the age of sixteen by permission of his British guardians and failed to make good use of the power which never ought to have been thrown into his hands; that negligent and incompetent guardian turns round upon him, stigmatises his rule as scandalously and hopelessly bad, denounces him as thoroughly incompetent and permanently suspends his authority".[2]

The Raja was young and inefficient. As creators and benefactors, the British ought to have directed the officers of the state as they did during the time of Purniah. But, they drew a distinction between Purniah's regime and Raja's rule.

In the year 1848, Hardinge was succeeded by Dalhousie, who was well-known for his Doctrine of Lapse. His Governor-Generalship saw the annexation of native

---

2. Major Evans Bell - "Mysore Reversion - An Exceptional Case", published in London, 1865, p. 33.

states, which were under chronic misrule. The Doctrine of Lapse which he introduced was to consolidate the British power. He found in this a measure to put an end to such native states where corruption and maladministration had reached its zenith and where the welfare of the people had been ignored. It was approved by the Directors. Native states like Satara, Nagpur and Jhansi were annexed. These annexations naturally alarmed the Raja of Mysore regarding his State even though he was deposed. The Raja took the earliest opportunity to invite the Governor General to Mysore so that he could put forth his plea for reinstatement. Dalhousie's visit however did not produce any change in the policy of the British. In a minute dated 16th January, 1856, the Governor-General observed:

> "The Raja of Mysore is now sixty two years old. He is the only Raja for seventy generations past as he himself informed has lived to the age sixty years. He has no legitimate son or grandson or any lawful heir. He has adopted no child and has never designed to adopt an heir. On the contrary, General Cubbon informed me that when sometimes pressed, the Raja has been used to reply 'No I have no child of my own, I will not adopt. I will the last Raja of Mysore'. The expediency of continuing the territory by an act of gratuitous liberality to any other native prince when the present Maharaja shall have died, has been already conclusively shown by the conduct of His Highness himself, whose rule though he commenced it under every advantage was so scandalously and hopelessly bad that power has long since been taken from him by the British Government. I trust therefore that when the decease of the present Raja shall come to pass without son or grandson or legitimate male heir of any description, the territory will lapse to the British and the good work which has been so well begun will be completed."

Whether the Raja had expressed his willingness to adopt a child and announced his desire as "the last ruler of Mysore" is to be doubted. For no where in the official correspondence between the Raja and the British there is a reference to the effect that the Raja overlooked the matter of his successor. On the otherhand in his letter to Canning when there was a proposal to transfer the Government of Mysore to Madras authorities, he observed:

> "I have grave fears that such a measure as this if introduced would possibly interfere with the claims that I and my heirs have for the restoration of the Government of my Country."

This clearly shows that the Raja suspected that his kingdom would not survive and he would be the last ruler. From Dalhousie's statement it is clear that for the first time a Governor-General publicly gave expression to his desire to incorporate Mysore into the British dominions. Lord Canning who succeeded Dalhousie was against the restoration of Raja to power inspite of his services during the Sepoy Mutiny. The Viceroy who acknowledged the Raja's valuable and faithful services wrote:

> "I have lately received from the Commissioner of Mysore a despatch, in which the assistance received by that officer from your officers in preserving peace and encouraging loyalty in the districts under his charge during the recent troubles in India, is prominently brought to my notice. I beg your Highness to accept the expression of my warm thanks for these fresh proofs of the Spirit which your Highness is animated in your relations with the Government of India."[3]

---

[3] From Governor-General Lord Canning to His Highness, the Maharaja, dated 28th June, 1860, Fort William. Selections from Parliamentary Blue Books, Papers relating to Mysore, Part I, p.4.

Meanwhile Company's rule was itself terminated as a sequel to the mutiny. India was passed to the British Crown. And Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858 gave an assurance to the Indian princes that their rights and dignities and honour according to former usages would be upheld and there would be no further encroachments on the dominions of Indian princes. The proclamation was received with great happiness by the native rulers. The adoption despatch of Canning which followed the proclamation had guaranteed to every Indian chief above the position of Jagirdar the right of adoption according to the Hindu Law. This naturally gave a fresh hope to the Raja of Mysore to strengthen his claims for reinstatement of himself. But the despatch was not received by the Raja. It was sent to those princes who were rulers at the time of circular of Adoption Despatch. On 23rd February, 1861, the raja appealed for his reinstatement. He wrote:

> "What I ask my Lord is not much. The country is acknowledged to be mine. All I seek before I die, is that I may be restored to the position I formerly held, that the stigma which attaches to my name be removed and that I may appear once more before my own subjects and the princes and the people of India as the Sovereign of Mysore in fact as well as in word."

Further he added:

> "A day will come my Lord, possibly not in my time, for I am now an old man, but probably at no remote period - When these

> princes and Chiefs bound to Your Government by the double tie of Gratitude and self interest will present a bulwark, which neither the wave of foreign invasion nor the tide of disaffection can throw down; and then the wisdom of Your Lordship's policy, a policy which no Governor General before Your Lordship had the courage to avow, will become manifest to the world."[4]

The raja pleaded in that letter that the object for which the Government of his state was temporarily had been accomplished. Further he said there was no justification in retaining his state under the British control. For a long time the letter of the Raja remained unnoticed and unanswered. In his letter on March, 1862, Canning observed that the claims of the raja for his reinstatement did not have any valid ground. He took strong exception to the Raja's claims and bluntly rejected them.[5] His rejection was based on certain grounds. To start with there was no confidence that the Raja would establish a good Government in case he were to be reinstated. Cubbon never acknowledged the Raja's share in the successful administration of Mysore, on the other hand he had maintained that any improvements that had taken place had been effected inspite of the counteraction he had met with the raja. Secondly according to the viceroy, the Raja had no right whatsoever to plead to his reinstatement as he was restored in 1799 on account of

---

4. Maharaja to Lord Canning, dated 23rd February, 1861, S.P.B.B., Part I.

5. Canning to His Highness, dated 11th March, 1862, S.P.B.B., Part I, pp. 5-12.

generosity of the British Government which had effected the Conquest. The Raja was not a party to the partition treaty of 1799 which provided for the creation of the native State of Mysore. The restoration of the Raja in 1799 was a concession granted by the British Government waiving any right of Conquest. Thereby His Highness had no right for restoration even in 1799. Further Canning maintained that 4th and 5th Articles of the Treaty clearly prove that far from waiving the rights derived from conquest, Wellesley in a signal matter kept those rights alive. The 5th article provides wide discretionary powers to the Governor-General to assume the administration whether the Raja consents or not to the management of the territories. The viceroy added:

> "The British Government did not interpose to enforce the remedy provided in the subsidiary Treaty until the obligations which attached to the cessation had been for twenty years flagrantly and habitually violated inspite of the repeated warnings and remonstrances by the British Government and its agents; nor until the Country had been driven into rebellion by misgovernment of the very worst description and when but for the interference most of the places of Mysore would have effectually shaken off your Highness's authority."

It was under these circumstances according to Canning the British Government sensible of the responsibility which the rights of conquest and sovereignty had imposed upon it, acted upon the provisions of the Treaty. Having thus made ample provisions for the Raja's comfort and dignity they cancelled the authority that they had conferred and re-entered on the possession and administration of Mysore territory. The purpose of all this was to retrieve State's public resources and to rescue it from anarchy and ruin. "Besides there was no pledge by the British Government", Canning said "either to prince or to people of Mysore, to this effect that an administration which had so signally failed would ever be reestablished." Lastly the Raja according to the viceroy "failed to fulfil the obligations of the authority which had been ceded to him. Further he had failed to show of his desire and ability to get a good Government in his state". These arguments of Canning can be analysed and contested as follows: In the first place it is not certain whether Cubbon had made any statement regarding Raja's non-cooperation in the administration of Mysore. None of the records pertaining to his administration bring forth any remarks to this effect. Secondly, it is true that Mysore State was a creation of British generosity. It was a concession made by the British in reviving the ancient dynasty in the name of Krishna Raja Wodeyar in 1799. Further the 4th and 5th articles of the Treaty granted Supreme authority to the British Government the right of assumption. Besides the Raja had failed to take advantage of the counsels repeatedly given by the Resident to set right his administration.On the other hand he had paved the way for maladministration by falling a prey to his favourites who were sycopants. Thereby he had driven the state to a veritable rebellion. Lastly the British Government had every right to interfere if the worst situation crept in accordance with the subsidiary Treaty of Srirangapatna. Such a measure was to prevent the State from falling into anarchy and confusion. Nowhere in the Treaty, was there any provision that once the administration was assumed, it would be restored. Subsequently it was only a matter of consideration for the British authority. It is clear from the arguments of the Governor-General that Raja would not be reinstated and according to him, his claims were baseless. The Raja however was not discouraged by this. He addressed a KHARITHA to Elgin, Canning's successor requesting him to put forward his appeal to Charles Wood, the Secretary of State. In the letter he countered on the reasons given by Canning on the issue of his reinstatement. He assured his loyalty and sincerity to the British Government.[6] Forwarding the letter of the Raja to the Secretary of State, the Governor-General observed that the allegations and reasoning on which the appeal was made did not shake his confidence in the propriety of his predecessor's decision.[7] The Raja's appeal together with the suggestions of the viceroy reached Charles Wood. With the concurrence of his

---

6. Raja to Lord Elgin, dated 20th April, 1862, Enclosure No. 2, S.P.B.B., Part I, pp. 13-25.

7. Viceroy Lord Elgin to Secretary of State, Sir Charles Wood, Fort William, dated 4th June, 1862, S.P.B.B., Part I, Foreign Department Political No. 71.

council he decided in July, 1863 that the Raja was not entitled to the restoration of his State. He wrote back to the Raja to that effect. The Secretary of State repeatedly laid emphasis in his letter that in the interest of the people of Mysore, the British were bound by duty to provide a good Government. Their duty would be neglected if they reinstate the Raja. Because he had forfeited his claims of administering the State very badly. The decision of the Secretary was vehemently criticised by certain members of the Council of India. Henry Montegomery, for instance was one such. As one of the members he protested on 18th July, 1863 that the original assumption of the country was not warranted by the fair interpretation of the Treaty of 1799 and the action of the Governor-General was based on erroneous information of the actual condition of the case.

Further he remarked:

> "The character and extent of the insurrection as ascertained by the committee of 1833 after patient and lengthened investigation are wholly ignored and in para 12 of the report, Raja is declared to have failed to fulfil the obligations of the subsidiary treaty by neglecting the advice of the British Government though it is well known and officially on record that not only no advice was rendered but that was systematically and purposefully withheld. It is also said that the State of finances was such as to afford no security for the punctual payment of the subsidy, whereas upto that very period, the subsidy has been

> punctually in advance and Bentinck had subsequently recorded his belief that it was in line with jeopardy."[8]

Sir Fredrick Carrie, another member remarked:

> "if the occupation by us of the territories of Mysore is to be continued expressly for the interest of the people, let the people of Mysore be consulted."[9]

The most remarkable criticism came from John Willoughby, an eminent member of the India Council on August 18, 1863. Along with others like Elgin, Sir Bartle Frere, Cecil Beadon, R.Napier and S. Laing, members of the Council of India joined him. They said by now virtually declaring the Treaty of Mysore cancelled and the occupation of Maharaja's Country to be permanent, they were after a lapse of 30 years enhancing the penalty originally imposed on the Maharaja.[10] They further disputed the Secretary of State's decision on the issue of reinstatement by stating that the assumption of the territory was only for the specific purpose of securing subsidy. They also contended:

> "the management had been assumed for and on behalf of the Raja and that the treaty was in force. And it must be obvious that if permanency had been contemplated in 1831 the conquests, forfeiture and annexation of Mysore would have been declared at the time."

---

8. Dissent of Henry Montegomery - Papers relating to Mysore, S.P.B.B., para 12, p. 21.

9. Dissent of Sir Fredrick Carrie on 17th July, 1863, Mid. para 28 and 29, p. 24.

10. Dissent of Sir John Willoughby, 18th August, 1863.

These protests however did not produce any effect on the British Government. The Secretary of State's despatch, supported by a concurrence of majority of the members, was sent to the Raja through the viceroy. On receipt of the letter, the Raja did not losse heart and remarked to the commissioner:

> "It is wonderful that the same British Government who, to secure lasting fame and good faith did justice to his hereditary rights by placing him while a helpless boy of five years of age on his ancestoral throne had now scrupled to commit what politically was a breach of faith and thereby exposed themselves to reproach. So long justice sides my cause there is little fear of lossing my rights. If one authority refuses me my claims, I shall never cease to importune another higher authority for better treatment."

The Raja never despaired. He continued to entertain high hopes of his success. He suggested to the commissioner to convey to the Governor-General that the Government could be run in his name, a portion of the revenue being given to him, the British Government should allow him to have the right to adopt a son and secure guarantee for his illegitimate children to have landed property.[11] Bowring, the commissioner considered these suggestions as selfish and observed:

> "The Raja did not evince any anxiety about the future of his many dependants, no allusion being made about hundred and thousands of servants who had served him faithfully for many years, but the whole scope of memorandum concerns his rights, dignity and name".

---

[11] Raja to Bowring, S.P.B.B., Part I, para 5, p.37.

He further remarked:

> "I cannot but consider that the Raja's requests are purely selfish and that the future of his country, his relations and his followers are far less important to him that his own personal position."[12]

By the time Bowring conveyed the Raja's suggestions to Calcutta, John Lawrence had assumed charge as viceroy. He observed in his letter to the Raja dated 29th March, 1864 that the Raja was at full liberty to adopt a son who would inherit his private property. At the same time, he said the question of his son's claim to the throne of Mysore did not arise. Meanwhile Dr. Camp Bell, the Durbar Surgeon, who had been to England to champion the Raja's case returned in July, 1864. His visit to England had given the Raja fresh hopes in his efforts. For Dr. Camp Bell had several interviews with the Secretary of State regarding the restoration of Mysore. Of course no substantial success was achieved in this regard. Dr. Camp Bell's visit however created a sympathetic attitude among the public. For example a friend of Evans Bell a well known political writer observed in his letter to him:

---

12. Lord Bowring to Col. Durand, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William, No. 10, 18th February, 1864.

> "I know none over twenty years of personal experience of the prince and his country except that the territory is rich the climate is good and we want it. Added to this we are strong, the Raja is weak and what more could possible be required to satisfy the most delicate whig conscience."[13]

The public sympathy for Raja's case was gaining ground in England as a result of protest made by the members of the council of India as already noted. By this time the people of India had known the value of public petitions. They were aware that a copy of the adoption Despatch of Charles Wood, was not sent to the Raja. They viewed this act as a pretext on the part of the British for the annexation of Mysore. A petition was addressed to John Lawrence signed by more than 7,000 inhabitants of Mysore city. It was sent on 6th June, 1864. A Parsi gentleman by name Nanoldhoy Nassur Warjee was chosen as their leader to correspond. Ali Askar, grand father of Sir Mirza Ismail, future dewan of Mysore was one of the petitioners. The petitioners stated that they learnt with surprise and sorrow that the Raja could adopt a son to inherit only his private property but not of his kingdom. "If he adopts the petitioners said, "the adopted son becomes his heir and heir to the kingdom too. We beg to assure Your Excellency

---

13. Mysore Reversion by Major Evans Bell, Appendix H. (According to Saturday Review (2nd March 1863) Major Evans Bell urged on public grounds the restoration of the dynasty and acted as advocate of the Raja.

that we are not insensible of the wisdom and the beneficience of the British Government and the important benefits we have received from their connection with this country. But when we see that the benefits are to be ultimately accompanied by the loss of individuality of this country and culminate in the annihilation of an ancient and most important Hindu Raj of our Maharaja, we confess we cannot but consider our fate to be most unhappy."[14] While forwarding this petition to the Secretary of State, the viceroy commented that this petition ought not to be considered as serious.[15] Irrespective of the response given by the British authorities both in London and at Calcutta, the claims of the Raja for his reinstatement and adoption of a son to succeed both in private as well political field had begun to receive support from the public. Similar representations of the above said nature had reached the viceroy from other parts of India. For instance, G.Lakshminarasia Chetty, a member of the Madras Legislative Council and a public worker had evinced keen interest in the Raja's case. Through his paper 'Crescent' he championed the claims of the Raja. The Raja addressed two Kharithas one on 25th January 1865 and the other on 1st February, 1865, in which he intimated that he was reluctantly compelled to carry his appeal to Her Majesty, the Queen through the medium of Dr.Camp Bell whom he delegated as his agent and representative to do all that was necessary.[16] But he received no reply. The Raja again addressed another Kharitha on 4th July 1865 repeating his stand.

---

[14] M.Shama Rao - Modern Mysore, Vol.I, Nos. 56-57.

[15] Governor-General to Charles Wood, 31st August, 1864, Political No.66, S.P.B.B., Part I.

The attitude of the British towards the adoption case in Mysore had provoked great protest again from the members of the Council of India in England. George Clerk, one of them observed on 21st July 1865:

> "This new doctrine (British policy) regarding the adoption is so novel and unjust, so opposed to all customs and religions in India, and so utterly inconsistent with the course of administration as previously exercised during the paramountcy of Hindus, Muslims and ourselves, that I can only conceive it to be the result of wild counsel prompting an indiscriminate gratification of a selfish policy which it is endéavoured to veil under a plea of expediency."[17]

Meanwhile the Raja who was advancing in age (he was 71 now) had given up hopes of a direct male progeny. The refusal on the part of the British to recognise his adopted son as his successor to his kingdom had caused him much agony. Therefore he decided in conformity with the Hindu religion and custom to adopt a son as his heir and successor. Accordingly he adopted Chamarajendra Wodeyar

---

16. Raja to John Lawrence, S.P.B.B., Part I, p. 68.

17. Dissent of George Clerk, 21st July 1865, Dissents and Minutes of the members of the Council of India on adoption and claims of Raja, S.P.B.B., Part I, p. 71.

in the presence of his subjects. Chamarajendra Wodeyar was a young child of 2½ years. He came of the Bettadakote family. He was the son of late Krishna Urs and grandson of Gopal Raj Urs, brother of Rani Laxami Ammanni. The Superintendent of the Asthagram Division and the royal priest, Parakalaswami were specially invited to witness the adoption ceremony. The Raja addressed a letter to the viceroy intimating this adoption and claimed all his rights and privileges for him.[18] He also informed to prominent persons in England such as Duke of Wellington, Lord Danley, Lord Harris, General Fraser, Casamaijor, former Residents of Mysore, Col. Haines and Dr.Deveraux of his action in this regard. These English men were his sympathisers. The viceroy quoting Lord Northcote's Despatch informed the Raja that he has been distinctly informed that no authority to adopt a successor to his kingdom had ever been given to him and that no such power can now be conceded to him.[19] This decision of the Secretary of State evoked protests from some members of the council such as George Clerk, Eastwick and Fredrick Carrie. They criticised the viceroy for the injustice that had been done to the Raja by refusing the recognition for adoption. Certain other members like Duke of Argyll, Sir Charles Jackson (who was an advocate and

---

18. Raja to Sir John Lawrence, dated 18th June, 1865, S.P.B.B., p. 91.

19. John Lawrence to Raja, dated 21st August, 1865, S.P.B.B., Part I.

Judge of Supreme Court at Calcutta and for some time president of the Legislative Council under Dalhousie), R.D.Mangles and Princep supported the refusal stating that this was a law sanctified by political tradition permitting the suzerain to refuse adoption. The adoption however was an epoch making event in the life and times of Krishnaraja Wodeyar. No prince or Chief had dared to take such a bold step before. It was a master stroke of diplomacy. According to the custom of the land there was no need for the Raja of Mysore or any Hindu Sovereign to take the permission of the Suzerain Government for adoption. It was purely an internal matter permitted by the Hindu Law. No sanction was necessary and no invader had ever dared to suppress this right except the British. It is true that the Raja had been suspended from his sovereign powers. But it does not mean that his sovereign powers had been totally put an end to. For, after all the British had been conducting the administration for and of Mysore in the name of the Raja. The inhabitants of the Mysore State expressed their joy at the adoption. They urged the Supreme Government at Calcutta by petitions to recognise the adopted son of the Raja as his successor to the throne of Mysore. In Madras public meetings were held and deputations arrived at Mysore to congratulate the Raja for his bold action. A meeting was held at Pachiyappa's Hall in Madras on 18th

September 1865 to convey the happiness of the people of Madras on adoption of a son by the Raja.[20] The meeting was presided over by a leading member S.Tirumalachariyar. It was resolved in the meeting that the Raja's right to adopt is indisputable and incontrovertible. The text of the congratulatory address of the above said meeting was published in the "Athaneum" and "Daily News" magazines published from Madras. As early as 1853, Sir William Sleeman remarked that "the native states I consider to be break waters and when they are swept away, we shall be left to the mercy of our native army which may not always be sufficiently under our control."[21] The press in India had taken keen interest in this subject even before the adoption. The newspapers commented on it. Perhaps no other Indian question was brought for discussion before the Parliament and had caused such a strong and unanimous support of both the English and the Indian press. Nearly nineteen contemporary newspapers of the time had already condemned the possible annexation of Mysore. They had been upholding the case of the restoration of Mysore to Krishna Raja Wodeyar. "Morning Standard" from London, for instance wrote on 22nd November 1868: "the adoption of a son was not a remarkable measure, for the course is customary among Hindus having no natural heirs and is believed to be essential."[22] Further it remarked "We allude to the affairs of Mysore, the absorption of which state by the British Government is known to be impending upon the death of the present titular sovereign against the Sovereign's will and will of the subjects." The Morning Star wrote on 2nd August, 1866 "Sir John Lawrence's monstrous proceedings of annexing Raja's territory was mainly that the Raja lacks a heir of direct descent. But he has adopted a son according to the Hindu custom on the unanimous rejoicing of his subjects."[23] It was at this time that Major Evans Bell published his book 'The Mysore Reversion' which influenced a great deal on the public in England about the Mysore question. In the preface he wrote:

---

[20] The Mysore adoption - A meeting of natives of Madras city regarding Mysore Question. Lord Cannemara Library Consultations, Madras.

[21] India under Lord Dalhousie and Canning and a vindication of the Marques of Dalhousie's Indian Administration.

> "By the publication of this book, I hope to produce a conviction so decided to be injustice, impolitic and imprudence of the meditated annexation as it may lead to some dedicated action in the cabinet or parliament and may once more place the Home authorities in distinct antagonism to that policy of bad faith and distinguished rapacity by which during the last twenty years, the officials of Calcutta have destroyed the fair name of Great Britain in the East and undermined the foundations of Indian Empire. I have not written these following pages as an apologist or advocate for the Raja of Mysore. I do not plea for the Raja's personal advantage and dignity. I plead for the advantage and elevation of his people, and the people of India and for the General good of the British Empire. I call Mysore an Exceptional

---

[22] Morning Standard, dated 22nd November, 1865, Opinion of the press on the annexation of Mysore, London, John Cadeu Hotteu, Picadilly, 1866.

[23] Morning Star, dated 2nd August, 1866; Ibid.

> case that the appropriation of the State would be exceptionally unjust, injurious and unprofitable."[24]

The Bombay Saturday Review on 7th July 1866 wrote:

> "The Government of India with the full consent of the Home authorities seems now about to put an end for the unwise settlement of Mysore made sixty five years ago by the perpetuation of great wrong. The Raja committed no crime against the British Government, he was never charged with disloyalty, he never plotted against the British. On the contrary Lord Canning acknowledged the valuable services of the Raja during the crisis of 1857. Why then has he not been restored? He was set aside because his kingdom was full of disorders; but though order has long been established he is still kept in a state of degradation. Why should it be so? We fear, the answer is, that Mysore is a rich province, we are calling might is right and have resolved to keep it."[25]

Mr. Goldwinsmith writing an article entitled 'Annexation of Mysore' in the 'Daily News' of August 8th, 1866 condemned the policy of annexation. He wrote:

> "The projected annexation of Mysore upon which the nation is called upon to decide in the last resort, if carried into effect, the native rulers will no longer be true and worthy allies with the knife of their annexation at their throats. They will plot against us and we shall have to put them out of the way."[26]

---

24. The Mysore Reversion - An exceptional case by Major Evans Bell, published in London, 1865.

25. The Bombay Saturday Review, 7th July, 1866, Opinion of the Press, London, 1866.

26. Daily News, dated 8th August, 1866; Ibid.

Thus the press had deplored the unjust attitude of the British towards the Mysore question. The Raja who was aware of public opinion in England took advantage of reasserting his claim by addressing another letter to the viceroy on 4th July, 1866. This was the last request of the aged Raja. In his letter he stated: "A due regard for the honour of my ancesotrs, for the rights of my son and family and for the best interests of my people compels me to maintain the real strength of his title to vindicate my right to adopt a successor and claim from the protecting power my personal restoration."[27] Further he added: "No credit is given to me for the wisdom that comes with age. Among other lessons I have learnt that the possession of absolute power is dangerous and undesirable possession for any man." I am ready and willing to find myself and my successor to rule in obedience to such regulations and ordinances as in the first instance and from time to time may be approved by the protecting power." Lord Craneborne who succeeded Charles Wood as Secretary of State protested against the annexation policy. He expressed his sympathy and support for Raja's case. On July 23rd, 1866 a deputation consisting of ten members of Parliament and other liberal minded public who had taken active part in the Indian affairs waited on Lord Craneborne for the

---

27. Raja to Lawrence, dated 4th July, 1866, S.P.B.B., Part II, pp. 117-18.

purpose of making a collective protest against the threatened annexation of Mysore. Sir Henry Rawlinson was the leader of the deputation. Sir Charles Metcalfe, Sir William McNaughton, Lord Granley and several other members of the India council expressed their opinion in support of Raja's reinstatement. A petition was presented to the House of Commons by John Stuart Mill on Friday 16th, August 1866. It was signed by eminent English men, some of them political leaders, lawyers and educationists. John Briggs, General, former Senior Commissioner for the Government of Mysore, J.S.Fraser, General, formerly Resident of Hyderabad, Travancore and Mysore; J.Low, Lt.General, member of the Supreme Council of India; Gregory Haines, Lt.Col. former Superintendent of Bangalore and Judicial Commissioner, Mysore; W.H.Bayely, formerly Secretary to the Government of Madras; Major Evans Bell of Madras Staff Corps, and Goldwinsmith, Professor of Modern History, Oxford were among them.[28] The petitioners contended in their petition that steps should be taken to look upon Mysore as a state to be saved from extinction, not merely out of a regard for the faith of the treaties, nor merely in recognition of the continuous services rendered by its government and the personal fidelity of its sovereign, but

---

28. Petition to the House of Commons by J.S.Mill, Opinions of the press on the Annexation of Mysore, London, 1866.

because it is or capable of being made a native state. Sir John Morley who was the Secretary of State in 1909 published a well reasoned and powerful article on Mysore subject in the 'Fortnightly Review' dated 15th September, 1866. He wrote:

> "By the partition treaty of Mysore and subsidiary treaty of Srirangapatna:
>
> (1) a separate State of Mysore had been set up;
>
> (2) the sovereignty was confirmed upon the representatives of the old time of rajas;
>
> (3) the new ruler agreed to do certain things;
>
> (4) and the Governor-General reserved the right of remedying any neglect on the part of the Raja to do certain things as stipulated in the treaty."

He argued:

> (1) Has the English Government any legal right to annex the Mysore territory?
>
> (2) Granting that legal right could be even so satisfactorily established, does a general visit to our position towards our Indian native princes countenance the expediency of availing ourselves of it."[29]

Further he asked "that the treaty which Lord Dalhousie said with the Raja in 1799 was exclusively personal one, for no mention is made of heirs and successors, was uncommonly ingenious and actuates what could Lord Wellesley's object have been in going through the force of personal treaty with a child of five years old? What reason was there for setting up the child at all, if he were only to play for the East India Company? The son adopted by the Raja is a child to be recognised on the Raja's death instead of leaving him to grow up as the present Raja was allowed to do it. He critically observed that the Mysore Commissioner's communications to the Foreign office at Calcutta were more like those of gossiping maid of honour than those of grave and responsible official.[30] Rao Sahib Vishwanatha Narayan Mandalik, a distinguished lawyer of Bombay in a pamphlet called 'Adoption Versus Annexation' strongly protested against the Doctrine of Lapse applied to Indian States. He wrote:

---

[29] From the Fortnightly Review of September 15th, 1866 - An article entitled 'England the Annexation of Mysore', published in 1866, London.

> "An Englishman regards his house as a castle. An English annexationist is no exception to that. Did the annexationists regard their people's rights as they do their own? Did they suppose that the constitution of man has so changed in India that the things which an Englishman hates and despises, an Indian covets and admires? Do they suppose that Hindus have no veneration for family rights, relics, ancestoral descent, ancient honours and still more for kingdoms, principalities and officers?"

He added:

> "No sanction is required and no rule for asking anybody's permission has ever been laid down in any Hindu law book for adoption. A glorious opportunity now awaits the British parliament to show practically that it will right the wronged. I allude

---

[30] Ibid.

> to the case of the Raja of Mysore which
> I see is to be brought before the nation."

In this way the press and the prominent individuals in India and England had been creating a strong opinion in the public about Raja's case. As a result the Mysore question was debated in the House of Commons on 22nd February, 1867. Lord Craneborne recorded that on political grounds it was not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to annex the territory after the death of the Raja. It was his hope that the adopted son would prove himself capable of governing the country on his reaching the age of maturity. His successor Sir Stafford Northcote sent a despatch to the viceroy in India about the decision of the British Government to restore Mysore State to native rule.[32] The British Government decided to recognise adopted son as Raja's successor. But at the same time it did not restore the State to the aged Raja himself. Krishna Raja Wodeyar, on the receipt of the despatch felt glad though he was not reinstated. Acknowledging the receipt of Northcote's despatch through the viceroy, the Raja stated in his reply, "I feel sanguine that my prayer for personal restoration will not be overlooked and receive sympathetic consideration."[33] But the fact that the Raja was not reinstated

---

32. From Secretary of State to Governor-General, India Office, 16th April, 1867, S.P.B.B., Part II (Papers relating to Mysore).

33. Raja to Sir John Lawrence, 6th September, 1867, S.P.B.B., Part III.

needs to be properly explained. To start with the Raja was advanced in age. Thus he was not in a fit position to carry on the administration; secondly the British disliked any change in the administration that they had set up in Mysore till the adopted son came up of age; and thirdly the British desired to make the Raja's heir to acquaint himself with the affairs of state in order to give a new look to the administration and enhance its efficiency.

The Raja's patience during the whole period is commendable in enduring all this humiliation and mental agony. His efforts by petitions and appeals to regain the power forms a brilliant chapter in his life for this reason. The Raja could not regain his lost position. But his attempts yielded fruit since the adopted son was recognised as his successor. The courage of the Raja, the public opinion created by certain Englishmen, the press and the public opinion in England and in India and the liberal party that came to power led to the British Government's recognition of the Raja's adopted son. As already pointed out it was the Raja's ardent desire that he should be made the ruler of part or parts of Mysore namely, Asthagram division. If the wish had been conceded, however it would have been fatal or disastrous to the future of the kingdom of Mysore. For, the Raja would have remained as a petty chieftain and Mysore would have been regarded as a petty principality. The real glory of Mysore would have considerably impaired. However the rendition of Mysore in 1881 to the adopted son of Krishna Raja Wodeyar fulfilled the wishes of the Raja.[34]

---

[34] Instrument of Transfer, 1881, M.S.P., Vol.II, p.4.

5. KRISHNARAJA WODEYAR III - AN ESTIMATE OF HIS REIGN - HIS PATRONAGE TO ART AND LITERATURE

Krishnaraja Wodeyar who was pretty old by then had been keeping indifferent health by 1867. And his condition became critical towards the end of the year. He died on 27th March, 1868. His demise was proclaimed to the people officially. At the same time the people were assured that the Government of Mysore would be carried in the name of his adopted son, Chamarajendra Wodeyar, who formally succeeded him.[1]

Krishna Raja Wodeyar was the oldest sovereign in India and was one of the very few rulers whose recollections could be traced to the time when Lord Wellesley was Governor-General and Thomas Munro and John Malcolm were young field officers. The Raja throughout his life remained loyal and faithful to his benefactors. He was mild by nature and a lovable companion. His adolacent years, his susceptible nature and his tendency to yield to evil advices of his favourites were responsible for his negligence to his duties. He fell a prey to his undesirable associates.

---

1. Proclamation by Commissioners, Lord Bowring, "The Making of Modern Mysore" (A Collection of Rare and Important State Papers, pp.37-38 dated 28th March, 1868.

It cannot be denied that eighteen years of his rule had greatly alienated his subjects from him. It dminished the resources of the State and finally led to his deposition. The deposition in 1831 was not merely a suspension of his Sovereign powers but a great blow to the prestige of the Royal family. The Raja had to repent throughout his life for the humiliation that he suffered.

In private life of the Raja kept himself always busy entertaining guests and patronising art and literature. He was endowed with considerable literary gifts. For this reason he was generous to artists of all kinds. He was known for his wit and sarcastic remarks, besides. In this way he liberally contributed towards the progress of education, religion, art and literature.

Brought up as an orthodox Hindu in the best traditions of Kshatriya lineage, he was God fearing. The head of Parakala Swami Matha, a Vaishnava monastic order was the royal preceptor who imparted lessons in religious and cultural matters in Raja's early life. It is not surprising therefore that he was inclined to Vaishnavism. He patronised however all other religious sects alike. This reflects his catholicity of mind. Every religion be it Vaishnavaite, Shaivaite, Jain, Christian or Muslim was patronised by him. Other than Sringeri Mathas and Parakal

Matha, mention may be made of such religious institutions which received rich benefactions from the Raja. They were:

- (a) Bhagavata Sampradaya Matha at Malabagilu in Shimoga district.[2]
- (b) Lingayata Matha at Bale Honnur.[3]
- (c) Vyasaraya Matha at Sosale.
- (d) Sravana Belagola Matha.[4]

Besides, grants and endowments lavishly given to religious institutions by the Raja, many prominent temples were renovated. Mention may be made of such temples as Melcote, Nanjanguda, Chamarajeswara temple at Chamaranagar. The Raja's benefactions extended even to places outside the state like Tirupati, Benares, Madurai and Udipi. Some instances of charity are in the list submitted by Major Elliot, Superintendent of Asthagrama division and in charge of palace duties to Bowring, commissioner of Mysore. According to that, a grant of Rs.1,000/- was given to civil orphan Asylum at Madras. A monthly grant of Rs.30/- was sanctioned to Roman Catholic Church at Mysore. A grant of Rs.12,000/- per annum to Sringeri Matha was made in 1856 on the occasion of the visit of the head of the Matha. The Mysore Sanskrit Association received an annual allowance of Rs.1,000/-. In the same way a large number of his records mostly sannads or religious grants which were issued between 1800 to 1868 throw light on the religious, social and economic aspects. They record the presentations, gifts, donations and endowments.

---

[2] M.A.R., 1934. IN: No.52, p. 182.

[3] M.A.R., 1927 Copper Plate Grant, 1856.

[4] E.C.Vol. II - Sravana Belgola Inscription, No.354, dated 1830 A.D., p. 157.

Though he was religious, the social institutions were not neglected by him. The social life of his reign reflects considerable sophistication and gaiety. Men and women alike wore gold and silver ornaments. The common ornaments in the Nagar division for women were bracelets, chains, silver rings for the ankles, nose ring, ear ring, armalets and necklaces.[5] The most common ornament among men was Udidira, a silver chain tied around the waist. All men and women of Shivabhakta caste (Lingayats) wore a silver box called as Choka or Kadige containing the Lingam or phallus.[6] Money was carried in a small net purse called as Hemmani Chila which was tied round the waist. Intoxicated drinks like Sarayee was taken freely by the middle and lower classes. Ferment liquors called Kallu or Henda was used by Haleyapykas and Namadhari Gowdas, the agricultural tribes.

---

[5] Report on the Nagar Division by H.Stokes, 1864, S.R.M.C.O., Part IV, para 42, p. 17.

[6] Ibid.

In Asthagram, one of the divisions, toddy was procured from Byne, a tree. Ganja was also used.

There were various castes in the social structure of the time. But there was no rigid caste system. The important castes in Nagar Division were Shivabaktas, Kurubas, Malavar Bedar (Huntmen),Bester (fishermen) and Akkasaliga (Goldsmith), besides Muslims. Brahmins were in the top among the social groups.[7] Slavery existed. The slave was called by the name Alu, a hired servant. They were hired for agricultural purposes. This type of slavery was mostly in Malnad or hill areas. Slaves were kept away from family residential houses of their masters though they were not touchable.[8] The payment for their services rendered by them were invariably in kind. The Metlu, steps at the entrance of the house was the usual limit for them. They were strictly forbidden to tresspass into their residence without permission. There was annual supply of clothes which consisted of one Kambli (blanket), Dhoti or waist band, pancha or coarse cloth and Rumal or turban for each man and one Sire or Saree for woman. Slaves were freely bought and sold usually in pairs. The usual price of such pair costed twelve Bahaduri pagodas and a pair of bullocks.

---

7. Ibid., para 31, p. 13

8. General Memorandum - Slavery.

People were fond of sports and amusements. Itinerant players called Bhagavatada Atadavaru generally from Haiga Brahmins and Dombaru Tumblurs frequently visited towns and villages. They provided main recreation to the people of the time.[9] Haridasaru, a set of ministrels and rhapsodists recited music, songs and stories chiefly drawn from epics and puranas. They naturally attracted large audience both rural and urban areas. Among the rich, a kind of folk group dance, the mela was a favourite past time. Gambling was practiced only by lower classes. Women folk were fond of jatras or fairs. The Raja was fond of horse race and accordingly donated a gold cup in his name to be given to the best horse.[10] The periodical festivals such as Shivaratri, Holi, Hunnime, Yugadhi, Ganesh Chaturthi, Dasara and Dipavali were celebrated by one and all on large scale. In addition to religious significance these festivals were mainly recreational.

There was considerable harmony among the various communities in society barring occasional conflicts in matters of religion. For example, a sannad of Krishna Raja Wodeyar refers to a letter written by Kutadavaru of Chennagiri and Basavapatna of Nagar division mentioning the conflict over precedence in carrying Vasantakolu and Nandi Kamba in a religious procession.[11] It is not known who are this *Kutadavaru*, but they appear to be a sect among *Veershaivas*. *Vasanta Kolu* and *Nandi Kamba* are the religious insignias esteemed by *Veershaivas* and carried in procession during *Basava Jayanti* and other festivals. When this conflict (mentioned above) was brought to the notice of the King, he ordered the leaders to be arrested and hanged. Another record at Sringeri shows the Government punishing the local member of low caste called *Marakas* for having adopted the customs of Brahmins. They were compelled to keep in their own caste.[12]

---

[9] H.Stokes - Report on the Nagar Division, S.R.M.C.O., Part iv, para 35, p. 14.

[10] Letter of Raja to Saunders, Commissioner, Home Miscellaneous No.25.

[11] M.A.R., 1945, p. 81

People believed in witch craft and other kinds of occulticism. The Raja honoured and gave patronage to Subbarayadasa alias Gopaldas for his miracles and pious acts. The details of his miracles are given in certain inscriptions at Prasanna Venkataramana Swamy temple at Mysore city.[13]

Subbarayadasa's portrait statue about 3 feet high representing as surrendering every thing to God stands in front of the shrine with an inscription giving his name and explaining his attitude. One of the inscriptions describes that he was an official at the inner gate of the palace. In the year 1827, a severe epidemic broke out in Mysore city. A large number of inhabitants died. It appears, according to the inscription that the learned and pious

---

[12] *Ibid*.

[13] M.A.R., 1917, dated 1836, p. 17.

Diggami Srinivasacharya appeared to Subbarayadasa in a dream. He handed over to him three pieces of charcoal (Angara), a Kantirayahane, a gold coin and holy grains of rice (Mantrakshate). According to inscription, these things were the signs of cure. The inscription states that Subbarayadasa cured a large number of affected. He thus restored the city to its health. This incident had its effect on the people of the time. He was duly rewarded with gifts by the King and the people alike for his services. These he gave away in his turn for public causes.

The economic activity centered round important towns and villages. The principal trading, towns in the Nagar division were Siralakoppa, Basavanahalli, Nyamti and Harihara. Rice formed the chief food of the Nagar people. The chief exports were betelnut, cardamom, pepper, sandalwood and coffee towards Bombay. Iron, steel, Kambalis (blankets), buffaloes, sheep and garlic towards south Canara and teakwood to Bangalore.[14]

Chief articles imported were salt, dried fish, China sugar, sugar-candy and long cloth.[15]

Weekly market called Santhe was held in numerous towns and villages.

---

[14] S.R.M.C.O., 1864 (Report on the Nagar division of Mysore by H.Stokes), para 115, p. 45.

[15] Ibid., para 116, p. 45

LIBRARY *UN

In the Asthagram division at Belur Kenchammana Hoskote, Goruru and Sakaleshpura, cloth was manufactured.[16] The principal exports from Asthagram division were rice, cardamom, bee-wax, steel, gum, coffee and hides.

Kenchammana Hosakote in Asthagram division was great trading centre. The chief imports were salt, supari, (betelnut), cloth, sugar candy, chillies, coconuts, tobacco and saltfish. In Chitaldurg division the silk clothes were woven.

In addition to the public works undertaken by the Government, the Raja personally effected erection and construction of several public buildings. The Jaganmohan palace at Mysore constructed in 1861 is one of them.[17] His palace at Mysore is an example of splendour in beauty of the architecture of his time. He also got villas built for the members of his royal family. They are named after his queens. Amba vilas, Rama vilas and Chandra vilas are some of them. Numerous agraharas (Brahmin residential colonies) named after him and of his family members were built. Krishnarajapura agraha, Cheluvamba agrahara which exist at Mysore even today bear testimony to this.

Krishnaraja Wodeyar III gave patronage to the art of sculpture as well. The Santanambuja, the geneological tree engraved on a brass plate in the Jaganmohan palace is a typical example of the sculpture of the time.[18] The painted version of the same plate is also found in this palace. It contains a Kannada legend which is not on the brass plate. The legend describes in detail the birth, pious acts and deeds of the Raja. It is in the middle of the panel of the western hall. Another beautiful piece of painting is Jumbusavari, the procession of the Raja on the Vijayadashami day of the Navaratri festival popularly known as Dasara. It is painted on a large freeze running along the upper section of the north cast and the southern walls of the palace. One of the paintings is in water colour. It is by Tippaji Chitragara. The painting describes the battle of Kurukshetra. Paintings are found in the lower sections of the walls in the palace.

---

[16] Ibid., Part V (Memorandum on the Malnad of Asthagram division by Major Montegomery acting Superintendent, para 58, dated 19-12-1839, p. 10,

[17] M.A.R. 1938, pp. 57-58.

They are in geometrical designs with figures of animals and birds drawn according to the principle laid down in Aswagati,an ancient art manual. The Raja himself was an expert chess player. His love of chess was such that in 1853, the Raja sent a Sringeri Swami, a lithographed copy of the diagram called Purnatara Kalpataru devised by him showing the movements of the horse as in a chess Board.[19]

The Raja was a great lover of music. Veena Sambaih, Veena Venkata Subbaiah and Sadashivaraya were the foremost musicians who adorned his court.[20]

---

[18] M.A.R. 1935

[19] M.A.R. 1916, p. 80.

The most distinctive feature of Krishnaraja Wodeyar's period was the development of Kannada literature. No other period of Mysore history under Wodeyar witnessed such an interesting literary activity and output of Kannada works as that of Krishna Raja Wodeyar. The Raja himself was a man of learning in Kannada and Sanskrit. He was a voluminous writer. Besides Kannada and Sanskrit, he had considerable knowledge of Persian, Marathi and Telugu languages. It is remarkable that the Raja inspite of the harrowing worries caused by his dethronment could concentrate his attention to write great works and encourage literary activity.

One significant factor of this period was that Kannada language was in a transitional period changing from its mediaeval to modern form. Thus his rule begins the era of Kannada prose writing. Prof. Gokak has rightly pointed out that it was the beginning of the coming age of the prominence that prose was to assume hence forward in Kannada.[21] Kempunarayana's Mudramanjusha is an excellent example of this type. His works are mostly in prose.

The Raja had a thorough knowledge of Agama on the one hand and Vaishnava and Shaiva religions on the other.[22]

---

20. Mummadi Krishna Katha Vali, p. 72

21. Contemporary Indian Literature published by Sahitya Academy, New Delhi, p. 101.

22. R.Ramashastry - An Article in Krishna Raja Wodeyar's Birthday Kaifiyat, p. 48.

Suryachandra Vamshavali (Geneology of the Sun and the Moon) and Shatakala Nirnaya (Dealing in time) bears testimony to his knowledge in astronomy and history. The Santhmambuja in the Jaganmohan palace gives in detail the following works supposed to have been written by him.[23] They are the following:

(a) Chamunda Laghu Nigantu (Describing Divine Objects)
(b) Krishnakathasara Sangraha (Stories of Vishnu)
(c) Sritatvanidhi (Dealing with Meditation)
(d) Saughandhika Pariniya (Voluminous Kannada poem)
(e) Sankyaratu Kosha (Dealing with Astrology)
(f) Graha Darpana (Dealing with Eclipse)

Besides the following works are attributed to him:

(a) Akhanda Kaveri Mahatmye
(b) Uttaragite
(c) Uttara Rama Charita
(d) Guru Charitre
(e) Talakaveri Mahatmye
(f) Nanjundashataka
(g) Srishaila Mahatmye
(h) Harishandropakhayana
(i) Nalopakhyana.

Saugandhikapariyana is a voluminous Kannada poem written in Shatapadi metre in the form of romance.

---

[23] M.A.R. 1935, pp.140-170.

Grahadarpana is a Sanskrit work giving an account of 82 eclipses.

The Raja had the rare quality of appreciating and encouraging the literary talents in others. He generously encouraged the learned to compose works and to translate master pieces from Sanskrit into Kannada. In his court there were scholars who had specialised in Vedic Philosophy, Alankara, Metaphysics, Astrology and Vedanta. Among them was a notable scholar Tryiyambaka Shastry who was well versed in all the Sastras.[24] Kashinatha Sastry and Viswanatha Sastry were great grammarians. Kunigal Rama Shastry, Kashi Shesha Shastry and Sajjayacharya were the intellectual giants in Vedanta and metaphysics. Vishnu Padacharya was a great pandit in all the Vedas. He was a scholar in astrology.[25]

Astrologers like Jois Venkatacharya, Gunja Jois, Palyam Venkata Subbacharya, Kyatanhalli Srinivasa Jois were patronised by the Raja.

In addition to these there were various community poets who included such renowned writers as Aliyalingaraja, Nanjunda of Devalapura and Kempunarayana. Ramkrishna Sastri son of Ramapandita of Hassan (Simhasanapuri) wrote "Bhuvan Praditike" in 1808. It is a Sanskrit work with a Kannada commentary by the author.[26] It is a sort of encyclopaedia giving information on a variety of subjects such as Creation, time, Geography, astronomy, history of southern India and Mysore with detail about his patron Krishna Raja Wodeyar. Srinivasa Kavi called as *Kavisarva Bhuma* wrote *Nrupajayotharsha*. Kempunarayana was undoubtedly the most dominating writer of the age. In 1823, he wrote *Mudra Manjusha*,a propse version of the original Sanskrit drama *Mudra Rakshasa* by Vishakadatta. Chandra Kavi was the court poet of Krishna Raja Wodeyar who wrote in Telugu a work called *Sri Krishna Bhupaliyamu*, an exact translation of *Andhra Shabda Chintamani* written by Mannaya Bhatta, a great Telugu writer. Sobane Rangadasa, Guru Krishna Venkatakavi, Sitarama Shastri, Vedanta Raghavacharya, Thimmanna Kavi, and Srinivasa were other Brahmin poets who were patronised by Krishan Raja Wodeyar. They wrote songs, stories, Keerthanas, Commentaries and Yakshaganas. Among the famed Veerashaiva poets who lived in the court of the Raja were Devalapurada Nanjunda and Maddagiri Nanjappa. Nanjunda wrote "*Krishana Raja Bhaktisara*, *Saughandhikaparinaya*, *Krishnendragite*, and *Lingastuti*. Maddagiri Nanjappa wrote *Krishnarajendravilas* in 1840. He calls himself as Andhrakarnataka Kavitha Visharadha (an expert in Telugu and Kannada Literature). Another famous poet of the time was Aliya Lingaraja brought up by Krishna Raja Wodeyar III from his childhood. Lingaraja was married to Doddaputtatayammanni and Chikkaputtatayammanni, near relatives of the King. Because of this he was called as Aliya Lingaraja (Aliya meaning son-in-law). He was a great scholar in music and art and was learned in Sanskrit. His works are in the form of Champu, a mixed style of prose and poetry, Yakshagana and songs. He was given the title Ubhaya Kavitha Visharada. Nearly 47 works are attributed to him. Nalacharitre and Girijakalyana are his famous works.

---

[24] A.R.F., Part II, p. 53.

[25] Kunigal Ramasastrigalavara Charitre, written in 1834, published in 1910, p. 119.

---

[26] R. Narashinhachar - *Karnataka Kavi Charitre*, Vol.III, p. 164. See also M.A.R. 1916, p.68.

The Jaina poets who lived in the court of Krishna Raja Wodeyar were Devachandra, Madhugire Brahmya Pandita. Devachandra of the famous Rajavalikathe wrote Ramakatha Ratna.[27] Rajavali Kathe was written under the patronage of the Raja in 1838. Charukirti Pandita who appears to be the Swami of Sravana Belagola Matha wrote "Bhavyajanachintamani" in 1815 which is in Champu order deals with Gommata.[28]

Krishna Raja Wodeyar was one of the earliest Indian rulers to realise the importance of English education. He started the first English medium school called as Raja's School which ultimately developed into Maharaja's College and University of Mysore.[29] The expense of this school was borne by the Raja. Mr. South was the president of the school. On the recommendation of Colonel Stokes, the then Resident of Mysore the school was given to the control of Wesleyan Mission. From his personal expenses, the Raja promoted the Sanskrit learning in the Mysore city by establishing an institution known as Maharaja Sanskrit Institution - the present Maharaja's College.

---

[27] R.Narashinhachar - Karnataka Kavi Charitre, Vol.III.

[28] E.C., Vol. I, Sravana Belagola Inscription No.354.

[29] A.R.F., para II, para 9, p. 109.

The constitutional efforts of Krishna Raja Wodeyar to win back the Kingdom of Mysore and his sovereign powers after his dethronement forms an interesting chapter in the history of Mysore. His endeavours in this direction were as admirable as dogged. He is all the more remarkable because it was despite humiliation and mental agony caused by his deposition. His sincerity and loyalty to the British Government even during the trying times of Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 received ample acknowledgement at the hands of British. For the spirit of loyalty, he was conferred the title of K.G.S.I. (Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India).

The Raja had a great love and attachment to his state. Though he fell a victim to the evil advisers and associates of him by which his rule became bad and was deposed, he struggled hard to save the state from the British annexationists. In this he succeeded. The transfer of power to Sri Chamarajendra Wodeyar (adopted son of the

Raja) in 1881 popularly known as Rendition of Mysore, was distinctly the result of sacrifices and efforts made by the Raja. But for his tenacious struggle, the independence of Mysore State within the framework of the British Empire would not have been achieved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ORIGINAL SOURCES
(UNPUBLISHED)

1. **Records:**

MADRAS RECORD OFFICE

Records relating to the correspondence between the Resident of Mysore and the Governor-in-Council at Madras and Governor-General-in-Council at Calcutta.

Records relating to the Correspondence between the Maharaja of Mysore with that of Governor-in-Council at Madras and Governor General-in-Council at Calcutta.

All these records are in the following form:

(a) Madras Political Consultations, 123 Volumes.

(b) Madras Country Correspondence, 23 Volumes.

(c) Madras Secret Proceedings.

(d) Madras Revenue Consultations.

2. Records in the Mysore Vidhana Soudha Record Office - Historical Section.

3. **Original Sources (Published) Inscriptions:**

(a) Epigraphia Carnatica edited by B.L.Rice, Vols. 1 to 12.

(b) Mysore Archaeological Reports, 1908-1941.

(c) Madras Epigraphia Reports, 1910-1938.

(d) Mysore and Coorg Inscription - B.L.Rice.

(e) The Historical Inscription of Southern India By Sewell and S.K.Iyengar.

4. Published Works (Original Sources):

1. Major General Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras - Selections from his Minutes and Other Official Writings, Alexandar Arbuthnot, 2 Volumes, 1889.

2. Life of Sir Thomas Munro with Extracts from his Correspondence and Private Papers, 2 Volumes, 1830 - G.R.Gleig

3. Selections from the Records of the Mysore Commissioners Office, Bangalore, 1864

4. Private Letters of Marquis of Dalhousie, J.G.A.Baird

5. Selection from Letters - Despatches and Other State Papers, G.W.Forrest.

6. Selections from the Parliamentary Blue Books relating to the Transfer of the Provinces of Mysore and Native Rule, 1936

7. Report on the Origin, Progress and etc. on the Disturbances in Mysore, 1883

8. Opinions of the Press on the Annexation of Mysore, London, 1866 (Contemporary News Papers of the time).

9. Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of Wellesley, Vols. 1 to 5.

10. Despatches of the Field Marshall Duke of Wellington, Vols. 1 to 12.

11. Mysore State Papers, Vols. 1 to 4 (1922)

12. Sir Charles Wood Administration of Indian Affairs, 1859-1866.

13. A Letter to Sir James Davidson Gordon, Resident of Mysore - Major Evans Bell

14. A Letter to H.M.Durand - Major Evans Bell

15. General Memorandum on Mysore

16. A Collection of Rare and Important State Papers with an Introductory Note, 1909.

17. Voyage and Travels to India, Ceylon and Etc., Valentia Viscount

18. A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sannads, C.U.Atichison, Vol.IX (Calcutta, 1909)

19. A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malbar, Francis Buchanan (Includes Arts, Religion, Commerce, Manners and Customs, The History of Natural and Civil Antiquities in the Dominion of the Raja of Mysore)

20. Report on the Interior Administration, Resources and Expenditures in the Government of Mysore, Col.Mark Wilks.

21. A Review of the Chief Commissioner of the Annual Report on the Administration of Mysore during 1868, Bangalore.

22. Memoir of General John Briggs,
Major Evans Bell, London, 1855

23. Eastern Experiences, Lord Bowring,
Chief Commissioner of Mysore and
Coorg, London, 1871

24. The Raja and the Principality of Mysore,
A Letter to Right Honourable Lord
Stanley, Lord Ellenborough, 1865

25. Selections from the Records of Sringeri
Matha, 1927

26. Historical Sketches of South India in an
Attempt to Trace the History of Mysore,
Col. Mark Wilks

27. Mysore Gazetteer, Vols. 2-C,
Hayavadhana Rao

28. Evolution of British Policy towards Indian
States, 1774-1858 by K.M.Panikkar

29. Administration of Mysore under Mark Cubbon,
K.N.Venkata Subba Sastri

30. The Munro System of British Statesmanship
in India, K.N.Venkata Subba Sastri

31. Finances of Mysore State (1799-1831),
M.H.Gopal (1960)

32. Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord
Metcalfe, John Kaye, (2 Volumes),
1854-1858.

33. History of Mysore,
C.Hayavadhana Rao

34. History of Mysore, 2 Volumes, Col. Wilks

35. Report of the Insurrection Committee, 1838 (Published in 1858)

36. The Mysore Letters and Despatches of the Duke of Wellington, 1799-1805 (From Original M.S.), Mysore Government Press, Bangalore, 1862

37. Mysore Gazetteer, Vols. 1 and 2, B.L.Rice, 1897

38. Process of Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Mysore, 1799-1882, Plowden

39. Haider Ali and his relations with the British, Dr.B.Sheik Ali.

SECONDARY SOURCES

1. Sir Thomas Munro and the British Settlement of Madras Presidency, John Breadshaw.

2. Lord William Bentinck, Boulger.

3. Mysore Under Wodeyars, Krishan Swamy Iyengar

4. A Brief Account of the Services Rendered by Lutchman Rao and His Ancestors to the British and Mysore Governments.

5. Native State of India, Chakravarti.

6. The Mysore Reversion - An Exceptional Case, Major Evans Bell.

7. Remarks on the Affairs of India, 1852 - Are We Bound by Our Treaties, A Plea for the Princess of India, Sullivan John

8. The Native States of India - Mysore and Hyderabad, Gribble, 1866.

9. An Historical Sketches of the Native States of India in Subsidiary Alliance with the British Government, 1875.

10. The Native States of India, Malleson, G.B.

11. History of Mysore and the Yadava Dynasty, G.R.Joyser.

12. Modern Mysore - 2 Volumes,
M.Shama Rao

13. Ten Years of Native Rule in Mysore,
M.Shama Rao, 1891.

14. The Poligars of Mysore and Their Civilization,
P.B.Ramchandra Rao, 1943.

15. The Inwardness of British Annexation in India
(Sir William Endowment Lectures),
C.S.Srinivasa Chari, 1948-49.

16. Adoption V/s Annexation,
Vishwanath Narayan Mandalik

17. History of India, Vol. III,
John Clark Morshman

18. Civil Disturbances Recording the British
Rule in India, 1765-1857,
S.B.Chaudhari, 1955.

19. Native States of India,
Sir William Lee Warner, 1860

20. Great Parliamentary Bore,
Major Evans Bell, 1869

21. Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy,
Major Evans Bell.

22. British Administration of Mysore,
By a Native of Mysore (Fifty Years
of Administration,) 1874.

23. The Ruling Chiefs of India,
Raghunatha Rao

24. Administration of British India Company,
John Kaye.

25. The Economic History of India in the
Victorian Age,
Ramesh Dutt.

26. Contemporary Kannada Literature,
Sahitya Academy Publication.

27. India Under Wellesley,
Roberts, P.E.

28. History of the British Empire in India,
Thomson

29. Protected Princes of India

30. Rulers of India Series - Sir Thomas Munro
And the Settlement of Madras Presidency,
John Bread Shaw, 1894.

31. Catalogue of Mysore Coins in the Government
Central Museum, Madras,
Thurston, E.

32. Catalogue of Mysore Coins in the Collection
of Government Museum, Tufwell.

33. Financial Position in Mysore, 1791-1932,
Shankarlinge Gowda.

34. A Brief History of Mysore,
P.Krishan Rao

KANNADA SOURCES (PUBLISHED)

1. Karnataka Champu Maha Kavyam Mahisura
   Maharaja Charitam, Sosale Ayyasastri, 1916.

2. Srimanmaharajaravara Vamsavali,
   Part I & II, 1916,
   Edited by Ramakrishna Rao

3. Mummadi Krishanaraja Kathavali,
   Subramanya

4. Kunigal Rama Sastrigala Charitre,
   (Court of Krishanaraja Wodeyar III),
   Written in 1832 and Published in 1910.

5. Alida Mahaswamiyavara Varnane,
   C.Venkataramana Sastri, 1938

6. Karnataka Kavi Charitre, Vol. III,
   (Lives of Kannada Poets),
   By R.Narasinhacharya, 1929.

7. Musuku Tegaye Mayagane,
   M.S.Buttanna

8. Alida Mahaswamiyavarada Mummadi Krishana
   Rajendra Wodeyaravara Jayantutsavada
   Kaipidi, 1937

9. Mysoorina Maharaniyaru.

10. Mysoorina Wodeyara Kathegalu.

PERIODICALS

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

1. Krishna Raja Wodeyar III, Vol. VI, 1915, p.42,
   - C. Hayavadhana Rao.

2. Dewan Purnayya, Vol. XIV, 1924, p.251.
   - B.Raghavendra Rao

3. The Last Seige of Srirangapatna, Vol.I, 1909-10,
   p. 90.-

4. The Fall of Srirangapatna And the Restoration
   of Hindu Raj, Vol. X, 1919, p. 12
   - R.H.Campbell.

5. Indian Historical Records Commission
   (Proceedings),

6. The Risings of 1830, Vol.XXXI, Part II,
   January, 1955 - B.A.Saletore

KRISHNARAJA WODEYAR III AND HIS RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

(1794 - 1868 A.D.)

A THESIS

Submitted for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ARTS

(HISTORY)

of the

UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY

5265

BY

UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY
28 OCT 1974
LIBRARY.

Shri B.R.K.MURTHY

Under the Guidance of

DR. C.M.KULKARNI

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY
1974

5265

5. KRISHNARAJA WODEYAR III - AN ESTIMATE OF HIS REIGN - HIS PATRONAGE TO ART AND LITERATURE

Krishnaraja Wodeyar who was pretty old by then had been keeping indifferent health by 1867. And his condition became critical towards the end of the year. He died on 27th March, 1868. His demise was proclaimed to the people officially. At the same time the people were assured that the Government of Mysore would be carried in the name of his adopted son, Chamarajendra Wodeyar, who formally succeeded him.[1]

Krishna Raja Wodeyar was the oldest sovereign in India and was one of the very few rulers whose recollections could be traced to the time when Lord Wellesley was Governor-General and Thomas Munro and John Malcolm were young field officers. The Raja throughout his life remained loyal and faithful to his benefactors. He was mild by nature and a lovable companion. His adolacent years, his susceptible nature and his tendency to yield to evil advices of his favourites were responsible for his negligence to his duties. He fell a prey to his undesirable associates.

---

[1] Proclamation by Commissioners, Lord Bowring, "The Making of Modern Mysore" (A Collection of Rare and Important State Papers, pp.37-38 dated 28th March, 1868.

It cannot be denied that eighteen years of his rule had greatly alienated his subjects from him. It dminished the resources of the State and finally led to his deposition. The deposition in 1831 was not merely a suspension of his Sovereign powers but a great blow to the prestige of the Royal family. The Raja had to repent throughout his life for the humiliation that he suffered.

In private life of the Raja kept himself always busy entertaining guests and patronising art and literature. He was endowed with considerable literary gifts. For this reason he was generous to artists of all kinds. He was known for his wit and sarcastic remarks, besides. In this way he liberally contributed towards the progress of education, religion, art and literature.

Brought up as an orthodox Hindu in the best traditions of Kshatriya lineage, he was God fearing. The head of Parakala Swami Matha, a Vaishnava monastic order was the royal preceptor who imparted lessons in religious and cultural matters in Raja's early life. It is not surprising therefore that he was inclined to Vaishnavism. He patronised however all other religious sects alike. This reflects his catholicity of mind. Every religion be it Vaishnavaite, Shaivaite, Jain, Christian or Muslim was patronised by him. Other than Sringeri Mathas and Parakal

Matha, mention may be made of such religious institutions which received rich benefactions from the Raja. They were:

(a) Bhagavata Sampradaya Matha at Malabagilu in Shimoga district.[2]

(b) Lingayata Matha at Bale Honnur.[3]

(c) Vyasaraya Matha at Sosale.

(d) Sravana Belagola Matha.[4]

Besides, grants and endowments lavishly given to religious institutions by the Raja, many prominent temples were renovated. Mention may be made of such temples as Melcote, Nanjanguda, Chamarajeswara temple at Chamarananagar. The Raja's benefactions extended even to places outside the state like Tirupati, Benares, Madurai and Udipi. Some instances of charity are in the list submitted by Major Elliot, Superintendent of Asthagrama division and in charge of palace duties to Bowring, commissioner of Mysore. According to that, a grant of Rs.1,000/- was given to civil orphan Asylum at Madras. A monthly grant of Rs.30/- was sanctioned to Roman Catholic Church at Mysore. A grant of Rs.12,000/- per annum to Sringeri Matha was made in 1856 on the occasion of the visit of the head of the Matha. The Mysore Sanskrit Association received an annual allowance of Rs.1,000/-. In the same way a large number of his records mostly sannads or religious grants which were issued between 1800 to 1868 throw light on the religious, social and economic aspects. They record the presentations, gifts, donations and endowments.

---

[2] M.A.R., 1934. IN: No.52, p. 182.

[3] M.A.R., 1927 Copper Plate Grant, 1856.

[4] E.C.Vol. II - Sravana Belgola Inscription, No.354, dated 1830 A.D., p. 157.

Though he was religious, the social institutions were not neglected by him. The social life of his reign reflects considerable sophistication and gaiety. Men and women alike wore gold and silver ornaments. The common ornaments in the Nagar division for women were bracelets, chains, silver rings for the ankles, nose ring, ear ring, armalets and necklaces.[5] The most common ornament among men was Udidira, a silver chain tied around the waist. All men and women of Shivabhakta caste (Lingayats) wore a silver box called as Choka or Kadige containing the Lingam or phallus.[6] Money was carried in a small net purse called as Hemmani Chila which was tied round the waist. Intoxicated drinks like Sarayee was taken freely by the middle and lower classes. Ferment liquors called Kallu or Henda was used by Haleyapykas and Namadhari Gowdas, the agricultural tribes.

---

[5] Report on the Nagar Division by H.Stokes, 1864, S.R.M.C.O., Part IV, para 42, p. 17.

[6] Ibid.

In Asthagram, one of the divisions, toddy was procured from Byne, a tree. Ganja was also used.

There were various castes in the social structure of the time. But there was no rigid caste system. The important castes in Nagar Division were Shivabaktas, Kurubas, Malavar Bedar (Huntmen),Bester (fishermen) and Akkasaliga (Goldsmith), besides Muslims. Brahmins were in the top among the social groups.[7] Slavery existed. The slave was called by the name Alu, a hired servant. They were hired for agricultural purposes. This type of slavery was mostly in Malnad or hill areas. Slaves were kept away from family residential houses of their masters though they were not touchable.[8] The payment for their services rendered by them were invariably in kind. The Metlu, steps at the entrance of the house was the usual limit for them. They were strictly forbidden to tresspass into their residence without permission. There was annual supply of clothes which consisted of one Kambli (blanket), Dhoti or waist band, pancha or coarse cloth and Rumal or turban for each man and one Sire or Saree for woman. Slaves were freely bought and sold usually in pairs. The usual price of such pair costed twelve Bahaduri pagodas and a pair of bullocks.

---

7. Ibid., para 31, p. 13

8. General Memorandum - Slavery.

People were fond of sports and amusements. Itinerant players called Bhagavatada Atadavaru generally from Haiga Brahmins and Dombaru Tumblurs frequently visited towns and villages. They provided main recreation to the people of the time.[9] Haridasaru, a set of ministrels and rhapsodists recited music, songs and stories chiefly drawn from epics and puranas. They naturally attracted large audience both rural and urban areas. Among the rich, a kind of folk group dance, the mela was a favourite past time. Gambling was practiced only by lower classes. Women folk were fond of jatras or fairs. The Raja was fond of horse race and accordingly donated a gold cup in his name to be given to the best horse.[10] The periodical festivals such as Shivaratri, Holi, Hunnime, Yugadhi, Ganesh Chaturthi, Dasara and Dipavali were celebrated by one and all on large scale. In addition to religious significance these festivals were mainly recreational.

There was considerable harmony among the various communities in society barring occasional conflicts in matters of religion. For example, a sannad of Krishna Raja Wodeyar refers to a letter written by Kutadavaru of Chennagiri and Basavapatna of Nagar division mentioning the conflict over precedence in carrying Vasantakolu and Nandi Kamba in a religious procession.[11] It is not known who are this *Kutadavaru*, but they appear to be a sect among *Veershaivas*. *Vasanta Kolu* and *Nandi Kamba* are the religious insignias esteemed by *Veershaivas* and carried in procession during *Basava Jayanti* and other festivals. When this conflict (mentioned above) was brought to the notice of the King, he ordered the leaders to be arrested and hanged. Another record at Sringeri shows the Government punishing the local member of low caste called *Marakas* for having adopted the customs of Brahmins. They were compelled to keep in their own caste.[12]

---

[9] H.Stokes - Report on the Nagar Division, S.R.M.C.O., Part iv, para 35, p. 14.

[10] Letter of Raja to Saunders, Commissioner, Home Miscellaneous No.25.

[11] M.A.R., 1945, p. 81

People believed in witch craft and other kinds of occulticism. The Raja honoured and gave patronage to Subbarayadasa alias Gopaldas for his miracles and pious acts. The details of his miracles are given in certain inscriptions at Prasanna Venkataramana Swamy temple at Mysore city.[13]

Subbarayadasa's portrait statue about 3 feet high representing as surrendering every thing to God stands in front of the shrine with an inscription giving his name and explaining his attitude. One of the inscriptions describes that he was an official at the inner gate of the palace. In the year 1827, a severe epidemic broke out in Mysore city. A large number of inhabitants died. It appears, according to the inscription that the learned and pious

---

12. *Ibid*.

13. M.A.R., 1917, dated 1836, p. 17.

Diggami Srinivasacharya appeared to Subbarayadasa in a dream. He handed over to him three pieces of charcoal (Angara), a Kantirayahane, a gold coin and holy grains of rice (Mantrakshate). According to inscription, these things were the signs of cure. The inscription states that Subbarayadasa cured a large number of affected. He thus restored the city to its health. This incident had its effect on the people of the time. He was duly rewarded with gifts by the King and the people alike for his services. These he gave away in his turn for public causes.

The economic activity centered round important towns and villages. The principal trading, towns in the Nagar division were Siralakoppa, Basavanahalli, Nyamti and Harihara. Rice formed the chief food of the Nagar people. The chief exports were betelnut, cardamom, pepper, sandalwood and coffee towards Bombay. Iron, steel, Kambalis (blankets), buffaloes, sheep and garlic towards south Canara and teakwood to Bangalore.[14]

Chief articles imported were salt, dried fish, China sugar, sugar-candy and long cloth.[15]

Weekly market called Santhe was held in numerous towns and villages.

---

[14] S.R.M.C.O., 1864 (Report on the Nagar division of Mysore by H.Stokes), para 115, p. 45.

[15] Ibid., para 116, p. 45

UNI... LIBRARY

In the Asthagram division at Belur Kenchammana Hoskote, Goruru and Sakaleshpura, cloth was manufactured.[16] The principal exports from Asthagram division were rice, cardamom, bee-wax, steel, gum, coffee and hides.

Kenchammana Hosakote in Asthagram division was great trading centre. The chief imports were salt, supari, (betelnut), cloth, sugar candy, chillies, coconuts, tobacco and saltfish. In Chitaldurg division the silk clothes were woven.

In addition to the public works undertaken by the Government, the Raja personally effected erection and construction of several public buildings. The Jaganmohan palace at Mysore constructed in 1861 is one of them.[17] His palace at Mysore is an example of splendour in beauty of the architecture of his time. He also got villas built for the members of his royal family. They are named after his queens. Amba vilas, Rama vilas and Chandra vilas are some of them. Numerous agraharas (Brahmin residential colonies) named after him and of his family members were built. Krishnarajapura agraha, Cheluvamba agrahara which exist at Mysore even today bear testimony to this.

Krishnaraja Wodeyar III gave patronage to the art of sculpture as well. The Santanambuja, the geneological tree engraved on a brass plate in the Jaganmohan palace is a typical example of the sculpture of the time.[18] The painted version of the same plate is also found in this palace. It contains a Kannada legend which is not on the brass plate. The legend describes in detail the birth, pious acts and deeds of the Raja. It is in the middle of the panel of the western hall. Another beautiful piece of painting is Jumbusavari, the procession of the Raja on the Vijayadashami day of the Navaratri festival popularly known as Dasara. It is painted on a large freeze running along the upper section of the north cast and the southern walls of the palace. One of the paintings is in water colour. It is by Tippaji Chitragara. The painting describes the battle of Kurukshetra. Paintings are found in the lower sections of the walls in the palace.

---

[16] Ibid., Part V (Memorandum on the Malnad of Asthagram division by Major Montegomery acting Superintendent, para 58, dated 19-12-1839, p. 10,

[17] M.A.R. 1938, pp. 57-58.

They are in geometrical designs with figures of animals and birds drawn according to the principle laid down in Aswagati,an ancient art manual. The Raja himself was an expert chess player. His love of chess was such that in 1853, the Raja sent a Sringeri Swami, a lithographed copy of the diagram called Purnatara Kalpataru devised by him showing the movements of the horse as in a chess Board.[19]

The Raja was a great lover of music. Veena Sambaih, Veena Venkata Subbaiah and Sadashivaraya were the

---

18. M.A.R. 1935

19. M.A.R. 1916, p. 80.

foremost musicians who adorned his court.[20]

The most distinctive feature of Krishnaraja Wodeyar's period was the development of Kannada literature. No other period of Mysore history under Wodeyar witnessed such an interesting literary activity and output of Kannada works as that of Krishna Raja Wodeyar. The Raja himself was a man of learning in Kannada and Sanskrit. He was a voluminous writer. Besides Kannada and Sanskrit, he had considerable knowledge of Persian, Marathi and Telugu languages. It is remarkable that the Raja inspite of the harrowing worries caused by his dethronment could concentrate his attention to write great works and encourage literary activity.

One significant factor of this period was that Kannada language was in a transitional period changing from its mediaeval to modern form. Thus his rule begins the era of Kannada prose writing. Prof. Gokak has rightly pointed out that it was the beginning of the coming age of the prominence that prose was to assume hence forward in Kannada.[21] Kempunarayana's Mudramanjusha is an excellent example of this type. His works are mostly in prose.

The Raja had a thorough knowledge of Agama on the one hand and Vaishnava and Shaiva religions on the other.[22]

---

20. Mummadi Krishna Katha Vali, p. 72

21. Contemporary Indian Literature published by Sahitya Academy, New Delhi, p. 101.

22. R.Ramashastry - An Article in Krishna Raja Wodeyar's Birthday Kaifiyat, p. 48.

Suryachandra Vamshavali (Geneology of the Sun and the Moon) and Shatakala Nirnaya (Dealing in time) bears testimony to his knowledge in astronomy and history. The Santhmambuja in the Jaganmohan palace gives in detail the following works supposed to have been written by him.[23] They are the following:

(a) Chamunda Laghu Nigantu (Describing Divine Objects)
(b) Krishnakathasara Sangraha (Stories of Vishnu)
(c) Sritatvanidhi (Dealing with Meditation)
(d) Saughandhika Pariniya (Voluminous Kannada poem)
(e) Sankyaratu Kosha (Dealing with Astrology)
(f) Graha Darpana (Dealing with Eclipse)

Besides the following works are attributed to him:

(a) Akhanda Kaveri Mahatmye
(b) Uttaragite
(c) Uttara Rama Charita
(d) Guru Charitre
(e) Talakaveri Mahatmye
(f) Nanjundashataka
(g) Srishaila Mahatmye
(h) Harishandropakhayana
(i) Nalopakhyana.

Saugandhikapariyana is a voluminous Kannada poem written in Shatppadi metre in the form of romance.

---

[23] M.A.R. 1935, pp.140-170.

Grahadarpana is a Sanskrit work giving an account of 82 eclipses.

The Raja had the rare quality of appreciating and encouraging the literary talents in others. He generously encouraged the learned to compose works and to translate master pieces from Sanskrit into Kannada. In his court there were scholars who had specialised in Vedic Philosophy, Alankara, Metaphysics, Astrology and Vedanta. Among them was a notable scholar Tryiyambaka Shastry who was well versed in all the Sastras.[24] Kashinatha Sastry and Viswanatha Sastry were great grammarians. Kunigal Rama Shastry, Kashi Shesha Shastry and Sajjayacharya were the intellectual giants in Vedanta and metaphysics. Vishnu Padacharya was a great pandit in all the Vedas. He was a scholar in astrology.[25]

Astrologers like Jois Venkatacharya, Gunja Jois, Palyam Venkata Subbacharya, Kyatanhalli Srinivasa Jois were patronised by the Raja.

In addition to these there were various community poets who included such renowned writers as Aliyalingeraja, Nanjunda of Devalapura and Kempunarayana. Ramkrishna Sastri son of Ramapandita of Hassan (Simhasanapuri) wrote "Bhuvan Praditike" in 1808. It is a Sanskrit work with a Kannada commentary by the author.[26] It is a sort of encyclopaedia giving information on a variety of subjects such as Creation, time, Geography, astronomy, history of southern India and Mysore with detail about his patron Krishna Raja Wodeyar. Srinivasa Kavi called as Kavisarva Bhuma wrote Nrupajayotharsha. Kempunarayana was undoubtedly the most dominating writer of the age. In 1823, he wrote Mudra Manjusha, a propse version of the original Sanskrit drama Mudra Rakshasa by Vishakadatta. Chandra Kavi was the court poet of Krishna Raja Wodeyar who wrote in Telugu a work called Sri Krishna Bhupaliyamu, an exact translation of Andhra Shabda Chintamani written by Mannaya Bhatta, a great Telugu writer. Sobane Rangadasa, Guru Krishna Venkatakavi, Sitarama Shastri, Vedanta Raghavacharya, Thimmanna Kavi, and Srinivasa were other Brahmin poets who were patronised by Krishan Raja Wodeyar. They wrote songs, stories, Keerthanas, Commentaries and Yakshaganas. Among the famed Veerashaiva poets who lived in the court of the Raja were Devalapurada Nanjunda and Maddagiri Nanjappa. Nanjunda wrote "Krishana Raja Bhaktisara, Saughandhikaparinaya, Krishnendragite, and Lingastuti. Maddagiri Nanjappa wrote Krishnarajendravilas in 1840. He calls himself as Andhrakarnataka Kavitha Visharadha (an expert in Telugu and Kannada Literature). Another famous poet of the time was Aliya Lingaraja brought up by Krishna Raja Wodeyar III from his childhood. Lingaraja was married to Doddaputtatayammanni and Chikkaputtatayammanni, near relatives of the King. Because of this he was called as Aliya Lingaraja (Aliya meaning son-in-law). He was a great scholar in music and art and was learned in Sanskrit. His works are in the form of Champu, a mixed style of prose and poetry, Yakshagana and songs. He was given the title *Ubhaya Kavitha Visharada.* Nearly 47 works are attributed to him. *Nalacharitre* and *Girijakalyana* are his famous works.

---

[24] A.R.F., Part II, p. 53.

[25] Kunigal Ramasastrigalavara Charitre, written in 1834, published in 1910, p. 119.

---

[26] R. Narashinhachar - Karnataka Kavi Charitre, Vol.III, p. 164. See also M.A.R. 1916, p.68.

The Jaina poets who lived in the court of Krishna Raja Wodeyar were Devachandra, Madhugire Brahmya Pandita. Devachandra of the famous *Rajavalikathe* wrote Ramakatha Ratna.[27] Rajavali Kathe was written under the patronage of the Raja in 1838. Charukirti Pandita who appears to be the Swami of Sravana Belagola Matha wrote "*Bhavyajanachintamani*" in 1815 which is in Champu order deals with Gommata.[28]

Krishna Raja Wodeyar was one of the earliest Indian rulers to realise the importance of English education. He started the first English medium school called as Raja's School which ultimately developed into Maharaja's College and University of Mysore.[29] The expense of this school was

---

27. R.Narashinhachar - *Karnataka Kavi Charitre*, Vol.III.
28. E.C., Vol. I, Sravana Belagola Inscription No.354.
29. A.R.F., para II, para 9, p. 109.

borne by the Raja. Mr. South was the president of the school. On the recommendation of Colonel Stokes, the then Resident of Mysore the school was given to the control of Wesleyan Mission. From his personal expenses, the Raja promoted the Sanskrit learning in the Mysore city by establishing an institution known as Maharaja Sanskrit Institution - the present Maharaja's College.

The constitutional efforts of Krishna Raja Wodeyar to win back the Kingdom of Mysore and his sovereign powers after his dethronement forms an interesting chapter in the history of Mysore. His endeavours in this direction were as admirable as dogged. He is all the more remarkable because it was despite humiliation and mental agony caused by his deposition. His sincerity and loyalty to the British Government even during the trying times of Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 received ample acknowledgement at the hands of British. For the spirit of loyalty, he was conferred the title of K.G.S.I. (Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India).

The Raja had a great love and attachment to his state. Though he fell a victim to the evil advisers and associates of him by which his rule became bad and was deposed, he struggled hard to save the state from the British annexationists. In this he succeeded. The transfer of power to Sri Chamarajendra Wodeyar (adopted son of the

Raja) in 1881 popularly known as Rendition of Mysore, was distinctly the result of sacrifices and efforts made by the Raja. But for his tenacious struggle, the independence of Mysore State within the framework of the British Empire would not have been achieved.